

**AFRICA IN TRAVEL JOURNALISM: A POSTCOLONIAL COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF THE REPRESENTATION OF AFRICA IN THE TRAVEL MAGAZINES *GETAWAY*,
AFRICA GEOGRAPHIC AND *TRAVEL AFRICA***

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Declaration

I affirm that this is my own work and that all references to other sources have been duly acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

My research examines how Africa is represented within the meaning-making arena of travel journalism specifically focusing on the travel publications *Travel Africa*, *Getaway* and *Africa Geographic*. The principal focus for many postcolonial theorists is the (mis)representation of “less-developed”, “third-world” countries, often focusing on literature in the creation and maintenance of structures of discursive oppression. I have used the work of postcolonial theorists Said (1978), Spurr (1993) and Pratt (1992) to form the theoretical foundation of my analytical framework. A discourse analysis of the magazines for the years 2006 and 2007 reveal Africa to be a discursively constructed cultural package. Touristic understandings of what constitutes ‘real’ African experiences are underpinned and portrayed through eloquent and articulate descriptions or imagery which interpellates the prospective Western traveler. To borrow Spurr’s (1992) terminology Africa is portrayed as ‘absence’ metaphorically or through the rhetorical strategy of negation in an attempt to create a void which can only be filled through intervention by ‘the civilized’. However, in addition to this, the magazines offer active systematic proposals to foster change and appeal to audiences to trans-code representations, a notion that postcolonial theorist Elfriede Fürsich (2002) has discussed in studies focusing on television travel journalism. I am arguing that in some instances the travel journalists in these magazines challenge conventional, traditional journalistic practices in order to create more balanced representations of the African continent. It is these forms of writing that can harness social change and represent African people, places and politics in alternative depictions. These strategies may include various narrative or linguistic techniques such as an altering of the conventional, commercial travel discourse, or an increased and liberated feedback loop between the publication and its readers.

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GLOSSARY

Abductive inferences: Abductive inferences proceed across different domains, from specifics of one kind to specifics of another kind (i.e. from the specific to the specific, rather than from the particular to the general).

Attributes^{*}: Attributes can be created in order to assign specific values such as ‘type’, or ‘age’ to individual cases.

Boolean operators^{*}: These are used in text searches in order to treat variables, such as propositions, for example, AND, OR, NOT.

Case^{*}: In my study, cases refer to the individual feature articles (they can refer to research participants, etc. in other research designs).

Cases coded^{*}: This refers to the number of articles in which the words and/or phrases of a particular text search were observed.

Coded/coded at^{*}: This is a term used to refer to instances in which particular words or phrases are found in an article or a selection of articles (i.e. if 30 cases are coded under a particular category, this implies that there were 30 cases which contained the particular words or phrases of that text search).

Construct: I use the term construct to refer to particular thematic categories such as ‘Negative Portrayals of Africa’.

Demand Images: Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) use the term demand images to refer to images in which the subject is looking directly at the viewer and thus is demanding the viewer to engage in some form of hypothetical relationship with the subject.

Frequency: This refers, in relation to content analysis, to the total amount of times a particular word appears or phrase is observed in the selected sample.

Interpellate: Interpellation refers to the ‘hailing’ or ‘drawing in’ of a particular audience through the use of various signifiers.

Index: “An index is a variable whose significance rests on its correlation with other phenomena”(Krippendorff, 2004, p. 58).

Modality: This is a term used by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) to refer to the degree to which an image appears ‘real’ or ‘true’. Modality will be determined by a number of factors such as lighting or colour saturation.

Multimodal: This is a term used by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) to refer to the relationship between an image and the text that appears near it.

Node^{*}: Nodes are thematic categories which can be used to group similar ideas together in a hierarchical fashion.

Offer Images: Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) use the term offer images to refer to images in which the subject is not looking directly at the viewer and thus the subject is said to be subordinated in some way.

Participants: Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) use this term to refer to all of the different elements of an image (for example, the subject of the image, the background elements, etc.)

Query: I use the term query as synonymous with text ‘search’.

Recording and coding units: “Recording/coding units are units that are distinguished for separate descriptions, transcription, recording, or coding.” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 99).

References Coded^{*}: This refers to the number of times the words and/or phrases of a particular text search were observed.

Relational Context: I refer to the relational context as the context in which a particular word is used (for example, the word ‘like’ can be used to indicate the similarity of two objects/places/emotions, etc. or to express a fondness for something

Sampling scheme: This term is used to describe the process and structure of the selected sample

^{*} Note that these terms are specific to *Nvivo*

Sensory coding orientation: This is a term used to refer to sets of abstract principles which inform the way in which texts are coded by specific social groups, or within specific institutional contexts.” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 165).

Snowballing: I use this term to refer to a process in which synonyms for specific words were found, and then synonyms of the synonyms were sought, until an adequate number of words for the text search had been found.

Transactional/Non-Transactional: Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) use these terms to refer to the nature of the actions performed by the subjects of an image. Transactional implies that an action relates to another actor, whereas non-transactional suggest that the action is not performed in relation to another actor

Transactive/Non-Transactive: This term is used by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) to refer to the whether or not the actors within an image look out of the frame, past the eyes of the viewer, or whether they engage with other actors within in the image.

Unitizing process: Units can be regarded as wholes which can be treated as independent elements. The unitizing process involves narrowing the text down into such workable segments.

Vector: A vector refers to lines that point or direct the reader’s eye in a certain direction.

x-axis: This is the horizontal axis.

y-axis: This is the vertical axis.

INTRODUCTION

The substantial growth of the tourism industry in recent years has been paralleled by an increase in travel journalism (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001).¹ However, despite this growth, travel journalism is a niche field that has received little or no attention within the realm of communication studies. Previous research on tourism has been primarily located within the fields of advertising and public relations with the primary aim of evaluating promotional strategies in order to maximize financial gain (Fürsich, 1998). The significant, meaning-producing domains of tourism and travel journalism are often appraised as trivial and reserved for the private realm rather than being suitable for serious theoretical engagement (Fürsich, 1998 & Fürsich & Kavoori, 2001).

My research aims to analyse the representation of Africa in travel journalism, specifically focusing on the travel magazines *Getaway*, *Africa Geographic* and *Travel Africa*. Through the deliberate selection of these three magazines, I aim to gain a perspective cross-section of the current nature of travel journalism with respect to the African continent. All three publications explore the areas of travel, nature conservation, tourism and ecotourism and indigenous cultures.

Travel Journalism as Cultural Practice

In recent years there has been an exponential growth in the production of travel magazines with an increasing number of specialized publications being produced. The prominence of this expanding field underpins fundamental sociological issues that should not be ignored (Fürsich, 1998). Travel journalism, as it is situated within the intersection of ideologies of work and play, should be considered both a cultural practice and a textual system rather than merely a profession. As Zelizer (1992, cited in Fürsich, 2002, p. 59) states, “journalism is a cultural practice, led by a community of professionals who use their cultural and interpretive authority to shape cultural memory and the production of knowledge in general”. Representations of the

¹ Travel journalism refers to a broad category of writing and visual anthropology that relates to the field of travel and tourism. My study will be focusing specifically on the written word as it appears in travel magazines.

Other in the journalistic field are rendered progressively more complex and diverse when positioned within an increasingly globalised market. Global journalists supply content to transnational media conglomerates and as such are part of a global information market. Within this arena, established frames of reference for representing the Other are challenged. Global journalists need to transform traditional professional routines in order to overcome the epistemological dilemma they are faced with when trying to represent the Other (Fürsich, 2002).

Hence, I will draw on the framework developed by Elfriede Fürsich (1998 & 2002; Fürsich & Kavoori, 2001) for the analysis of travel journalism. Fürsich (1998 & 2002) focuses on an active strategy for change in which the conventional methods of journalistic practice are restructured to allow for a more multi-faceted view of the diverse cultural aspects available in a particular place. Through this active strategy, the epistemological problem in which journalistic portrayals of the Other are challenged on the grounds of being unfair (as journalists use procedures of dichotomizing, restructuring and textualizing when making interpretive claims about unfamiliar cultures) is to some degree resolved.

I will adopt and adapt this framework when examining the travel publications I have selected. However, it is imperative for the purposes of my research that I also incorporate theoretical contributions from postcolonial thinkers.

Applying Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism has explored the impact of the West on Third World Countries, since its inception in the 1970s (Gandhi, 1998). Many postcolonial theorists such as Said (1978), Pratt (1992) and Young (2001) have explored the representation of less-developed nations, often investigating the question of how African and other Third World countries develop a sense of national identity following a history of colonialism. Many of these studies have included an exploration of the impact of literature on the construction and perpetuation of discourses of oppression (and resistance to oppression) surrounding less developed countries. From a

postcolonial perspective, this “interest in [the] oppression of the past will always be guided by the relation of that history to the present” (Young, 2001, p. 11). This provides an effective framework of analysis for the purposes of my research, which includes an examination of the representation of African cultural identities. Many theorists [Fürsich and Kavoori (2001) & Fürsich and Robins (2002) for example] argue that travel writers and journalists are granted a “privileged gaze” (Spurr, 1993) over what are considered to be “subordinated” subjects. Some of these subjects, in an African context, often emerge from a history of European attempts to reform and civilise the mind of the African ‘native’ and may therefore have experienced a past filled with oppression and subordination (Olaniyan, 2000). This is not to suggest, however, that indigenous African people do not create and maintain their own discourses of identity. Foucault (in Young, 2001) highlights that scenarios of oppression and restriction breed a proliferation of multiple discourses, rather than silencing subaltern voices. This proliferation of discourses may manifest themselves in alternative media texts which provide a space for dissident voices to *speak*. I am also not suggesting that indigenous African voices will necessarily portray an accurate picture regarding African cultures and identities. Said in *Orientalism* (1978) questions the authenticity of historical representation as he debates whether genuine reality can ever be known. Therefore, I aim to investigate *what* discourses of African cultural identity are apparent in the selected publications and whether or not there exists evidence of discursive oppression of African cultures and cultural identities. I will also examine whether or not the aforementioned supposed ‘privileged gaze’ (Spurr, 1993) endows travel writers an advantaged authority over “the other”.

David Spurr (1993) and Edward Said (1978)² examine the role and power of the Western writer or travel journalist as he or she is afforded the privilege to give meaning to the cultures, people and places of less developed nations that are often the subjects of their writing. This creates a vision which serves and conceives of the worlds of “us” and “them” (Said, 1978). Through the creation of superficial, hypothetical boundaries and arbitrary labels, a division is drawn between indigenous African people and privileged others. Identities are often created negatively, that is,

² Although Said’s text forms the basis of my argument as it is a fundamental text within the field of postcolonialism, I will be using other, more recent theoretical works to support my study, such as Robert Young’s (2001) *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*.

indigenous African people are defined in contrast to the more familiar practices and morals of Westerners (Said, 1978). Spurr (1993) highlights that the subjects of observation with regard to travel journalism are often denied the right/privilege of the gaze. Cultural identity as it is represented in the selected magazines is commonly defined for indigenous African people through the inauthentic transformation of their reality into a familiar web of signification by the travel writer (Spurr, 1993). I will explore the extent of the commanding position that is ascribed to travel journalists and investigate the power of the “privileged gaze” (Spurr, 1993) or “enunciative capacity” (Said, 1978). The theoretical ideas posed by authors such as Said and Spurr will undoubtedly be useful for my research, however, I will be adapting their ideas, taking into account potential criticisms that may have emerged with regard to their theoretical contributions, for example, Young (2001) has criticized Said’s (1978) idea of colonial discourse. The theoretical contributions offered by Fürsich (1998; 2001 & 2002) also serve to elaborate on the purely textual analyses offered by Spurr (1993) and Said (1978) to provide an active strategy for change. This active strategy may emerge in the form of new textual or linguistic apparatuses which diverge from traditional journalistic practices, or in the form of a revised style of production.

I will also draw on the work of Mary Louise Pratt (1992 & 1983) in my analysis of the nature of the representation of Africa in the selected texts. Pratt (1992, p. 5) attempts to understand “[h]ow travel writing [has] produced ‘the rest of the world’ for European readerships at particular points in Europe’s expansionist trajectory”. She uses the terms “contact zone” to refer to the space in which people historically and geographically come together and form relationships involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality and conflict, and “transculturation” to describe how subordinated groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture (Pratt, 1992). These terms will be used when examining the representation of Africa in the chosen publications.

Research Questions

My central research question is: How is Africa represented in the travel publications *Getaway*, *Africa Geographic* and *Travel Africa*? A number of key sub-issues can be derived from this. I will examine the style of writing and the nature of the imagery in the selected publications and how it might create or contribute to a discourse of division between “us” and “them”, subordinating the Other. The chosen publications may reinforce or refute traditionally held conceptions of African people, places, cultures and politics. This is an area that requires further analysis. National and cultural identities are key areas of my study and I will examine how African nations in the selected magazines may be defined with links to their colonial past or with links to their modern realities. I will investigate whether or not the selected magazines attempt to create and/or uphold nationalist ideals or national cultural identities. As I have already mentioned the “travel journalists’ eye” can convert people, places and emotions into signs for the prospective Western traveler. I will search for evidence of this and explore how the ‘privileged gaze’ (Spurr, 1993) operates within travel journalism. In addition to this, it will be necessary to examine the difference in perspective and opinion between an African travel magazine and that of a British one and whether or not travel journalism in the selected publications commodifies culture and if so, in what ways it does so. The colonial era produced discourses of foreign lands as synonymous with the exotic, mysterious and profound. I will explore whether or not this conception has changed significantly in a postcolonial context. I will also investigate who owns the magazines and what the goals and mission statements of the magazines are and what effect this has on the articles that are published.

Outline of Chapters

In the first two chapters I provide a framework for the analysis of travel journalism. The first chapter will focus on the contributions offered by postcolonial studies and sociology. I will be using these areas of study in order to develop a robust theoretical framework of analysis. Chapter two will focus more on a cultural studies approach drawing on tourism research and the work of Elfriede Fürsich. In this chapter, I will broaden my research paradigm to include studies carried out in the specific field of travel journalism. In chapter three I will outline the methodological

framework of my textual analysis, drawing attention to the processes involved in the content and discourse analyses. This will include a brief summary of the theorists used in the analysis³. Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) semiotic image analysis theory will also be outlined.

Chapters four and five will outline the textual analysis of the travel magazines. In chapter four, I will present a summary of the findings from the content analysis. The data will be presented in tables and graphs and inferences will be drawn. This chapter serves as a general description of the data. The findings will be analysed in more detail in the following chapter.

In chapter five, I will explore the findings of the discourse analysis. This will include a discussion of the language used in the magazines, the touristic packaging of culture in travel journalism, descriptions of identity, the role of subject positions, the tone of the magazines and the use of particular strategies for changing conventional journalistic portrayals of Africa.

In chapter six I will draw conclusions regarding the findings from the preceding chapters. I will outline the contribution that my research makes to the broader realm of cultural studies and I will also suggest other areas in which research may be conducted in order to elaborate on the work I have done.

³ Note that more information concerning the content analysis will be provided in chapter 4.

CHAPTER ONE: POSTCOLONIALISM

1.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the postcolonial⁴ theoretical contributions offered by Edward Said (1978), David Spurr (1993) and Mary Louise Pratt (1992). Their contributions provide the basis for my analytical framework, and will be coupled in Chapter two with those offered by tourism research and Fürsich's (1998; 2001 & 2002) analytical framework for the study of travel journalism.

Of central importance for the postcolonial theorist is an examination of the complex cultural realm of plural identity formation in a globalised postcolonial world. A postcolonial subject can form a multitude of fluid identities which are constantly revised (Werbner, 1996).

The principal focus for many postcolonial theorists is the (mis)representation of “less-developed”, “third-world” countries, often focusing on literature in the creation and maintenance of structures of discursive oppression. Edward Said's (1978) *Orientalism* is considered a fundamental text in the development of the academic field of postcolonialism. He examines Western (predominantly European) representations of the Orient⁵ with the primary objective of highlighting the exteriority of representation and the incapability of representations to be ‘natural’.⁶ He argues that there exists, and has existed for some time, a Western political domination of the East in which Western scholars have written Asia's past and constructed its modern identities for it, using European ideologies as the norm from which the exotic Orient deviates. This creates an ideology in which the writer holds a privileged position over the often

⁴ There has been little consensus regarding the scope and precise parameters of the field of postcolonialism (see Gandhi, 1998 and Bahri, 1996). In the context of this study, my definition of the term will extend beyond the simple dictionary meaning of the word as “the time or period following colonialism” to explore the aftermath of colonialism on modern configurations of power and identity. This conception of postcolonialism as an academic task of revisiting and interrogating the colonial past is largely influenced by the work of Robert Young (2001) in his text *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*.

⁵ Note that “Orient” (and any derivatives thereof) will be spelt with a capital letter in keeping with the format used by Said (1978).

⁶ Although an examination of the Orient is not entirely congruous with the focus of this specific study, Said's theoretical ideas regarding the representation of the Other are profoundly useful.

subordinated Other whose identity may be used as an exemplar or shadow archetype of contemporary Western identity.

Spurr (1993) much like Said examines how writing works to produce knowledge about other cultures. He defines colonial discourse as the particular languages which enable colonization whilst simultaneously being generated by it and identifies twelve rhetorical means through which the Other is and continues to be represented – surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, eroticization and resistance. Through these modes he further examines the representation of the Other in journalism and travel writing. The development of these themes allows Spurr to trace discursive assumptions more precisely and indicate the persistence of these rhetorical modes (Griswold, 1994).

The central theme of Mary Louise Pratt's (1992) text *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* is how travel books by Europeans about non-European regions of the world go about creating the domestic subject of Euroimperialism. Pratt (1992) uses terms such as transculturation, contact zone and anti-conquest. These will be clarified later in section 1.4.

Although the theoretical constructs created by Pratt (1992) are not explicitly applicable to the content of my study, I intend to adapt them in the development of my framework of analysis. In this chapter I will also further explore Said's (1978) *Orientalism* and indicate how his theoretical ideas will be useful in the formation of my analytical framework. I will also bring to light some of the many criticisms that have been targeted at Said (1978). Spurr's (1993) theoretical ideas effectively complement those of Said (1978) and will be examined in this chapter in light of their relevance to my study.

1.2 Edward Said and *Orientalism*

Edward Said was born in Jerusalem in 1935. For a number of years he served as America's leading spokesman for the Palestinian cause and was a member of the Palestinian-in-exile parliament for 14 years (Trimel, 1998). He gained a Western education in a New England boarding school, and underwent undergraduate study at Princeton completing his graduate study at Harvard. He is fluent in Arabic, French and English (Trimel, 1998). It is from within this diasporic locale that Said's seminal text *Orientalism* emerged in 1978. It proved to be the foundational text for the development of postcolonial studies, albeit one that has received a plethora of criticism since its initial publication.

1.2.1 Orientalism as Discourse

Said (1978) challenged the traditional scholarly definition of "Orientalism". Instead, he believed it to be an entrenched structure of thought, or a pattern for making generalizations about the East (Singh, 2004). And

"while Said listens carefully to Foucault's influential account of power, he is ultimately more interested in questions of knowledge or – more specifically – in exploring and critiquing the conditions under which knowledge might be transformed and vitiated through the contagion of power" (Gandhi, 1998. p. 75).

He established three "meanings" of Orientalism (Said, 1978). Firstly, he recognized it, as a field of specialization or a scholastic quest of the Orient wherein Western academics engaged in researching, teaching or studying the Orient. Secondly, Orientalism, for Said, refers to all occasions in which a Westerner has either imagined or written about the Eastern world.⁷ This is a rather expansive description as it includes roughly two millennia of Western consciousness about the East (Gandhi, 1998). It also explicitly sets up a basic epistemological distinction between "the Orient" and "the Occident" (read: "the West"). Thirdly, Said conceived of Orientalism as a massive inter-textual system for dealing with the Orient. In this regard, Orientalism is a network of "rules and procedures which regulate what may be thought, written or imagined about the Orient" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 76). This final definition is vital, as it delivers an understanding of the

⁷ Even though I speak here of Western power and identity it should be noted that I intend to extend these ideas at a later stage to non-Western, or at least Western-influenced powers

Orient, in a Foucauldian sense, as a discourse. One of Said's central aims is to reveal the strength of Western cultural discourse and to illustrate the cultural domination and dangers of this structure (Said, 1978). He does not however argue for a "true" or "pure" Orient. Rather he argues that,

'the Orient' is itself a constituted entity, and that the notion that there are geographical spaces with indigenous, radically 'different' inhabitants who can be defined on the basis of some religion, culture or radical essence proper to that geographical space is equally a highly debatable issue (Said, 1978, p. 322).

Said (1978) draws on a large collection of texts by authors such as Joseph Conrad (1902), Dante (1295-1321) and Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930). He argues that these writers produce knowledge from a position of exteriority and create representations that result in inaccurate depictions of the East. For Said (1978) the Orient does not exist.⁸ Rather it is an idea, it is a long reigning ideology created and perpetuated by European imperial adventures and maintained through a textual system of hegemonic control. The Orient and its inhabitants are a myth or a stereotype that has been masqueraded as fact. Over the course of two centuries of European thought, these myths and stereotypes have developed into a kind of systematic knowledge about the Orient that presents itself as fact (Singh, 2004). The perpetuation of this knowledge results in the continuation and maintenance of colonial discourse. The acquisition of knowledge about a foreign culture is equivalent to possessing control or power over that culture according to Said (1978). "The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then," he writes, "is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire" (Said, 1978, p. 203).

1.2.2 The Conceived Worlds of "Us" and "Them"

Orientalism, according to Said, is a field of learned study which is constructed using commonly agreed-upon subject matter. It is a field that is primarily textual, consisting of manuscripts and

⁸ This notion has been criticised by Robert Young (2001). See section 1.2.9.2 below.

books (Said, 1978).⁹ Within this textually-constructed universe Western power is often granted as having the status of scientific truth. Learned Orientalists travelled to the locations that they studied, and took with them unshakable maxims regarding the cultures they encountered (Said, 1978). These truisms were commonly the result of hypothetical boundaries created through arbitrarily labeling the land as “ours” and “theirs”. The latter landowners were cast as barbaric and irrational. Contemporary Western identity can be defined in contrast to this. Identities are constructed negatively in this regard, by what they are not, and often this subjectivity is based on suppositions, associations and fictions about the unfamiliar. As Said (1978, p. 55) states, “there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away”. This stereotyping of the unknown often results in the foreign appearing more, rather than less, familiar (Said, 1978). Creative writers such as Marlowe and Shakespeare write about the Orient within the mold of these ideological myths. As Said (1978, p. 63) highlights, the representation of the orient is “a theatrical stage affixed to Europe”. The culturally sanctioned habit of deploying these large generalizations by which reality is divided into various collectives became more apparent in the nineteenth century. Generalities were used to speak of “us” and “them” and this created a situation in which Europeans were included every time the generalities were used and Orientals were excluded (Said, 1978). This proclivity to drawing generalities about the unfamiliar Other can be extended beyond the simple Orient and the Occident dichotomy to refer to additional categories of Othering, such as the ‘knowledgeable white man’ and the ‘uncivilized black native’.

In the first chapter of his text, Said (1978) highlights that Orientalism is a three-way force. The first component of this process involves the Orient being orientalist and penalized for not being European. Secondly, the orientalist is marked as the province of the Orient. The third constituent involves a phase in which the Western reader accepts these orientalist codifications as the “true” Orient. This third and final stage thrusts Orientalism into the realm of discourse and cements the dichotomous bridge between West and East. The arbitrary labels of “us” and “them” are applied within the larger practice of representation of the Other and within the ideological construction

⁹ See section 1.2.3 for more on this.

of Oriental discourse. Orientalism provides a collection of dreams, images and vocabularies that can be used by anyone wanting to write or talk about the Orient (Said, 1978). Said writes explicitly about colonial discourse as it relates to Orientalism and the East. However, for the purposes of my research, I wish to extend these worlds of “us” and “them” to refer to the familiar and the unfamiliar, the modernized and the traditional.

1.2.3 A Textual Universe

A central axiom of Said’s reasoning centers around the notion of a textual attitude wherein the schematic authority of a textual description is taken to be more relevant or pertinent than an actual encounter with a particular culture, people or place. He argues that a proliferation of texts supporting specific discursive portrayals of the Orient has resulted in the perpetuation of forms of knowledge that are not necessarily accurate. As Said (1978, p. 165) points out, “Orientalism organized itself systematically as the acquisition of oriental material and its regulated dissemination as a form of specialized knowledge”. Said underpins two situations in which a textual attitude might be favoured. The first of these scenarios is when a person faces at proximity something relatively unfamiliar, intimidating and previously distant (Said, 1978). He argues that when humans are challenged or face some form of menacing uncertainty, it is common to resort to a text for a sense of equanimity. The second situation involves a “complex dialectic of reinforcement by which the experiences of readers in reality are determined by what they have read, and this in turn influences writers to take up subjects defined in advance by readers’ experiences” (Said, 1978, p. 94). It is through this textual universe that knowledge and reality eventually produced a discursive tradition. And it is from this discursive tradition, almost paradoxically, that the textual discourse began to produce the very reality it describes (Said, 1978). The Orient can never be obliterated, it can only be captured, treated, improved and radically altered. Orientals are marked with an Otherness that labels them as passive, non-participating and non-autonomous. By 1850 most major European universities had developed a

curriculum in one or another of the Orientalist studies (Said, 1978). This perpetuated the system of knowledge which, according to Said (1978) very few authors challenged.¹⁰

Orientalism carried two traits with it from the outset according to Said. Firstly, it held a new scientific self-consciousness based on the linguistic and secondly it displayed a proclivity to divide and re-divide its subject matter without ever actually changing its mind about the Orient as always being the same uniform object (Said, 1978). Oriental discourse captured the oriental in a fixed state and disallowed the possibility for it to escape the oppression of this Eurocentric ideology. Said (1978, p. 103) illustrates this when he states,

from being exposed as what texts do not prepare one for, the Orient can return as something one writes about in a disciplined way. Its foreignness can be translated, its meanings decoded, its hostility tamed; yet the *generality* assigned to the Orient, the disenchantment that one feels after encountering it, the unresolved eccentricity it displays, are all redistributed in what is said or written about it.

Said (1978) argues that this oppression of the East continued in different forms in a modern era.¹¹

1.2.4 Forms of Oriental Writing

Said (1978) outlines three categories of writers that occupied the orientalist landscape in the nineteenth century. Firstly, there were those authors who wrote about the Orient in a purely scientific tone and register, such as Edward William Lane (1836) with *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Said, 1978). Their writings were the result of “scientific observation” of the East. Secondly, Said delineates a category of writers who were similar to the former grouping, however, less willing to sacrifice eccentricity and style to impersonal orientalist definitions such as Burton’s (1855-6) *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah* (Said, 1978). Said’s (1978) third category describes those authors who journeyed to the Orient in search of fulfillment of a deeply felt or urgent project, such as Gerard de Nerval (1851) with *Voyage en*

¹⁰ Note that Chinua Achebe (2000), in his text *Home and Exile*, also refers to an oppressive discursive framework which applies to an African context.

¹¹ Used here, “modern” refers to modern at the time of writing. See section 1.2.7 for more.

Orient. Their texts are built around this personal aesthetic. These categories are not, however, intended to be taken as mutually exclusive, but rather it is important to note that all of the groupings have the egoistic powers of European consciousness at their centre, they all involve an interpretation of the Orient rather than an accurate description of it. This form of writing denies one the ability to look into Orientalism for a sense of an Oriental's *human* or *social* reality. All three categories inevitably involve writing *about* the Orient, disallowing the East the ability to *speak for itself*. This is an issue that is taken up by many postcolonial writers. Chinua Achebe (2000), in *Home and Exile*, argues that Africans are denied the right to speak, and as such the important right of Africans to tell their own stories has been suppressed. This is once again an example of the discursive oppression that, according to Said, has subjugated the inhabitants of the Orient. Quite obviously language plays a central role in Said's argument and the style and tone of this language is important in the construction of a colonial discourse.

1.2.5 The White Man's Burden and Racial Division

A major theme that resonates within European writing on the Orient is the romantic belief that the West should civilize the East and teach the "natives" the meaning of liberty (Said, 1978). This was often labeled "The White Man's Burden".¹² Racial division has always played a role in the Orientalist's realm, be it in the form of the "White Man's Burden" or simply as an ideological segregation and Othering. In the late nineteenth century scholars focused largely on binary, racial division and on constructing theses to prove that racial inequality existed (Said, 1978). As I have already mentioned, this period saw an increase in the establishment of generalizations that reaffirmed the oriental's position as an object studied by the "Occidental white man" (Said, 1978). Boundaries were created and set-up that marked the distinctions between "white" and black" as ineradicable and radical. The British and French (and many others, if not all, colonial powers) believed that they had a traditional entitlement over the destiny of colonized states. Often Orientalist writers claimed to be producing very personal accounts of the Orient. These were in fact reiterations of colonial discourse that maintained and

¹² This label also highlights that "European", in the case of Said's (1978) text, was often used to mean "white, male and bourgeois". Indeed, Said underpins this sexism in chapter three when he emphasizes that Orientalism is sexist and favours men.

spread the control that white orientalists had developed over the East. What I intend to highlight here is the manner in which generalizations were made, often of a racial nature, about the unfamiliar Other, thus casting the Islamic (or non-Western) foreigner into a realm of arbitrary signification in which a stereotype has replaced any “true” representation.

Thus,

the Orientalist surveys the Orient from above, with the aim of getting hold of the whole sprawling panorama before him - culture, religion, mind, history, society. To do this he must see every detail through the device of a set of reducible categories (the Semites, the Muslim mind, The Orient and so forth). Since these categories are primarily schematic and efficient ones, and since it is more or less assumed no oriental can know himself the way an Orientalist can, any vision of the Orient ultimately comes to rely for its coherence and force on the person, institution, or discourse whose property it is (Said, 1978, p. 239).

1.2.6 The Nature of Representation and the Attributes of Orientalism

Said (1978) argues that no person working in an academic discipline can resist the demands on him of his nation or of the scholarly tradition in which he works. He believes that an act of representing is always inextricably tied to the ideological origins of the writer. In chapter three of *Orientalism* Said (1978) questions the possibility of the existence of a “true” representation, arguing that

the real issue is whether indeed there can be a true representation of anything, or whether any and all representations, because they *are* representations, are embedded first in the language and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambience of representation (Said, 1978, p. 272).

He believes that a representation is intertwined and entangled in many things besides the “truth” (which is also a representation according to Said).¹³ It is from this approach that he concludes that representations must inhabit a common field of play, a field that is defined for them by common history, tradition and a universe of discursive representations. Hence, the practice of representation involves a scholar re-disposing material within a particular discursive field. Each

¹³ The notion of “truth as a representation” seems somewhat incongruous with Said’s larger argument and has been criticised by Robert Young. See section 1.2.9.1.

individual contribution will initially cause changes to the field and then promote a new stability. Over time, representations of Orientalism in European culture will fall into a pattern of discursive consistency.

Said (1978) goes on to distinguish five attributes of an Orientalist representation. Firstly, the representation must bear a distinctive imprint of the writer. Secondly, the writer must illustrate a concept of what the writer believes the Orient can and ought to be. Next, there must be a conscious contestation of someone else's view of the Orient. The fourth element involves providing the Orientalist discourse with what, at that particular moment, it seems most in need of i.e. finally, the representation must respond to certain cultural, professional, national, political and economical requirements of the epoch as defined by the dominant discourse. It is these representational practices that, over time, produce the discursive consistency mentioned above. These five attributes can be considered in relation to travel journalism and questions must be raised with regard to the existence and role of some form of discursive consistency that operates within the realm of travel journalism.

1.2.7 Modern Orientalism

Said (1978) argues, at the time of writing his seminal text that Orientalism still flourishes in a multitude of different forms as a result of the dogmatic nature of representations of the Orient. Although the United States of America has since the peak of the colonial empires become a more formidable force in the imperialist arena, Said (1978) argues that America has continued the discursive oppression of Oriental people that the British did well to establish. He highlights four dogmas of classical Orientalism that he believes continue to prosper in modern times. The first of these is the entrenchment of an absolute and systematic difference between the East and the West. This distinction will often be tied to ideological dichotomies such as "rational versus undeveloped" or "civilized versus primitive". Secondly he argues that abstractions about the Orient are always preferable to direct evidence derived from modern Oriental realities. Thirdly, the Orient is viewed as uniform and incapable of defining itself. It is therefore assumed that a very generalized and systematic vocabulary for describing the Orient is inevitable and

scientifically credible. Finally, he argues that a fear and hence a need to control the Orient is maintained through discursive structures. These dogmas ultimately describe a tendency towards generalizing and oppressing the voice of, and apparent incongruities of the Other through discursive constructions. These generalities and discursive oppressions must be explored in relation to travel journalism.

1.2.8 Applying Said's *Orientalism*

The theoretical ideas mentioned in the segments above do not by any means cover all of the conceptual notions expressed by Said (1978) in *Orientalism*, however, I have tried to summarize the key ideas from his text that are applicable to my study. Central to my theoretical framework is the concept of a discursive structure. Said's (1978) writings trace this structure in Western writing, showing how it contributes to the creation and continuation of inaccurate representations of foreign people, places and politics. I will be examining whether or not this is apparent in my study. According to Said (1978) stereotypes and myths of the unfamiliar Other are perpetuated through discursive constructions underpinning the critical distance between "us" and "them". These discursive constructions derive from an abundance of texts in which the Orient is portrayed as unchanging and profoundly inimical to conventional Western society. A discursive consistency is maintained through a style of writing which generalizes and subordinates the Other, often on the basis of racial stereotypes projected by the perpetrator of a dominant discourse of difference onto those who cannot be equals to the authors of this discourse. Said (1978) argues that these themes of oppression continue in a modern era.

I intend to use the ideas expressed by Said in the analysis of the publications which I have selected. Although it should be noted that I have included criticisms of Said's work in section 1.2.9 below and I will be adapting and elaborating his theoretical ideas primarily through an inclusion of other theories. Said's work forms the scaffolding or skeletal structure of my framework of analysis.

1.2.9 Criticisms of Said

Of more importance to my research is a criticism that is often raised [see Homi Bhabha (1986, in Gandhi, 1998) for example] in relation to Said's insistence that the Orientalist stereotype customarily presumes and corroborates a complete and unified imperialist discourse (Gandhi, 1998). Said (1978) seems to overstate the case to some extent through an ignorance of the ambivalent and dynamic nature of cultural stereotypes. Gandhi (1998, p. 78) also draws attention to the fact that "scholars such as Richard Fox (1992, cited in Gandhi, 1998) and Partha Chatterjee (1992, cited in Gandhi, 1998) argue that anti-colonial nationalist movements regularly [draw] upon affirmative orientalist stereotypes to define an authentic cultural identity in opposition to the Western civilization". For the purposes of my research I intend to draw on the work of David Spurr (1993), Mary Louise Pratt (1992), Robert Young (2001) and Elfriede Fürsich (2001 & 2002) in order to problematise the oversimplified concept of cultural stereotypes as it appears in the work of Said (1978).

1.2.9.1 Robert Young's Critiques of Said

Robert Young's (2001) text *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* is useful with regards to breaking down and closely examining Said's text. He outlines a number of relevant criticisms that are vital to consider in relation to my research. Many of these critiques aid in expanding Said's text in order to transform it into something that is less univocal, restrictive and homogenizing.

One of Young's (2001) main concerns with Said is that his idea of colonial discourse is never fully theorized or historicized and, more specifically, it is not theorized with respect to the work of Foucault from whom Said's theory of discourse emerges. Young (2001) makes specific reference to Foucault's (1972) text *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. The centre of the theoretical problematic for Young (2001) lies in the moment in which Said moves from a discussion of discourse to one regarding the ideological representation of Orientalism. Orientalism becomes less of a discursive discipline and operates more on the level of representation. In the course of

this shift in focus Said seems to change his definition of the Orient from suggesting that it has a corresponding reality to argue that the Orient is an ideological representation with no analogous reality (Young, 2001). For the purposes of my research I aim to show that the situation is not so unambiguous as to suggest the outright acceptance or refutation of a corresponding reality to the discursive constructions of the Other. Rather, I aim to investigate the complexities of the potential dissimilarity between foreign realities and the discourses thereof. I intend to problematise this circumstance with the inclusion of other postcolonial writings.

1.2.9.2 The Objections to Colonial Discourse

Young (2001) outlines a number of problems that have been raised in connection with Said's notion of colonial discourse. An initial objection that has been raised in this regard is that Said makes a number of claims based on only a small selection of texts. Landow (2002) for example argues that Said's (1978) text ignores China, South East Asia and Japan and has very little to say about India. In this respect questions must be raised about the choice of texts and representations. Once again, this is not of major concern to my research, as I am not dealing with the Orient at all, but rather I am applying the theoretical ideas of Said to an African context. However, it must be noted that these very theoretical ideas are to be debated on the basis of the status of the claims being made from the examples of a small selection of texts. However, through the incorporation of other theoretical writings, I aim to justify these claims. Another criticism that may be linked to this is the fact that Said does not offer an active strategy for change, but rather simply critiques the textual oppression of the East. However, he does acknowledge this as a limitation to his text in his final chapter.

I aim to use the theories presented by Elfriede Fürsich (et al, 2001 & 2002) in an attempt to rectify this passive approach.

Another issue raised by Young (2001) relates to the problem of historicity. An objection to colonial discourse is that it treats all texts as synchronic and dehistoricizes them as if they existed in an "ahistorical unchanging spatialized textual continuum" (Young, 2001, p. 390). It must be noted that texts are still part of a non-textual history to which they are connected and interact. Foucault (Foucault, 1972, in Hall, 1997) argues that discourses cannot be understood outside of

the context in which they operate. Nothing has meaning outside of discourse although they function and are understood differently in different social and cultural circumstances (Foucault, 1972, in Hall, 1997). David Spurr's (1993) twelve rhetorical modes will aid in developing an understanding of the context in which texts should be inextricably linked.

The question of representation is a problematic area with respect to portrayals of the Other. In the case of Said (1978), texts are examined with regard to their discursive depictions. This is different to what might be covered in an historical analysis; colonial discourse does not ask the question: "is this accurate?" Said (1978) argues that truth is difficult to find as it is a representation, but this raises the question of how Said can know that anything has been misrepresented, as he argues in his text. Fürsich (2002) argues for two possible solutions to the epistemological dilemma of representing the Other. The first of these involves scholars having or acquiring a methodological and epistemological awareness of problematic Othering. This will hopefully aid in the development of a fairer representation in the future. It is the second approach which I wish to adopt for the purposes of my research. It involves highlighting the need for active systemic proposals to foster change and appeal to audiences to trans-code representations. Essentially, Fürsich, (2002) argues that passive critiques be replaced by an active strategy for change.

Another complaint that critics of Said (1978) have expressed is that colonial discourse forms a supposedly homogenous totality that overrides the particularity of historical-geographical difference. This raises the question of whether or not there is only one discourse at play in the case of representations of the Other. The major objection is that colonial discourse does not account for actual historical and geographical difference that may exist in the real world. Another fairly common criticism of Said involves the uniformity of his concept of colonial discourse. As Young (2001, p. 392)) points out, "he does not demonstrate the ways in which individuals become subjects by using language and assuming discursive practices". This is perhaps testament to Said's passive approach of textual critique, his work seems to lack a critical

application of his ideas. Once again, these criticisms can be overcome by including the work of other theorists. This will extend the somewhat limited ideas expressed by Said.

1.3 David Spurr and The Rhetoric of Empire

David Spurr is the author of *Conflicts on Consciousness: T.S. Eliot's Poetry and Criticism* (1984) and *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (1993). In the latter of these texts Spurr (1993) explores how Western¹⁴ writers, such as journalists, travel writers and government bureaucrats represent the non-Western world. He asks the questions “how can the Western writer construct a coherent representation out of the strange and often incomprehensible realities confronted in the non-Western world? What are the cultural, ideological, or literary presuppositions upon which such a construct is based?” (Spurr, 1993, p. 3). This is a fairly common and general postcolonial thematic concept that appears in all of the theoretical texts I have selected (and in many other postcolonial writings as well). Spurr (1993) does well, however, to distinguish his writing from that of his contemporaries. He sets forward his analysis in straightforward terms through the identification of twelve rhetorical modes through which the Other was and continues to be represented. Through an isolation of each of these themes Spurr (1993) is better able to trace discursive assumptions that are present with regards to that specific rhetorical mode. As Griswold (1994, p. 154) points out, “by holding a particular rhetorical theme constant, Spurr can show the parallel thinking represented in a British district officer's notes in the 1920s and a Time magazine story in the 1980s without exasperating the reader with a formless argument”. In addition to this, he is able to effectively make connections between travel writing and journalism and indicate how the two work collectively in order to perpetuate discursive constructions.

Much like Said (1978), Spurr (1993) embraces a concept of colonial discourse. In his view it is not a monolithic system or a finite set of texts, but rather it is the particular languages which

¹⁴ Thus far the theorists that I have been discussing are explicitly concerned with the relationship between the developed Western world and that of the less-developed Third World. It is important to note, however, that my research involves an analysis of two *African* magazines and only one *European* publication. My analytical framework will be developed using the *theoretical ideas* of these postcolonial writers and the dichotomy of the ‘West vs. the rest’ will be extended to refer to the broader concept of discursive oppression with regards to representations of the Other. However, in the case of *Travel Africa*, the Western perspective will prove useful.

enable colonization whilst simultaneously being generated by it. It is a phrase that can be used to designate space within the language that exists both as a series of historical instances and as a series of rhetorical functions. Colonial discourse describes the language that has coloured and continues to colour perspectives of the non-Western world. It is “a way of creating and responding to reality that is infinitely adaptable in its function of preserving the basic structures of power” (Spurr, 1993, p. 11).

Spurr (1993) also attempts to offer alternatives to the discourses of the colonial era. He conceives of postcolonialism in two ways. Firstly, he believes it involves the dismantling of the traditional institutions of colonial power and secondly he considers the postcolonial to be an era of new possibilities and potential transcultural identities. Spurr (1993) is quick to refute that postcolonialism marks a complete recuperation from the oppressive structures of the past, suggesting that cultural hegemony is more indefinable and elusive in a postcolonial era than during the colonial period.

1.3.1 Rhetorical Modes

As mentioned above, Spurr outlines twelve rhetorical themes in his text – surveillance, appropriation, aestheticization, classification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization, eroticization and resistance. However, these modes operate in different ways in different situations and not all of the rhetorical themes will be exclusively applicable to the context of my research. I will elaborate on those of the themes that are pertinent to my study in the subsequent sections.

1.3.1.1 Surveillance

Observation is a vital element of journalism. However, writers and journalists are often removed from, or uninvolved in the human reality constituted as the object of observation (Spurr, 1993).

Journalists in particular often rely on technological, economic and historical conditions which make reporting possible. As Spurr (1993, p. 15) outlines,

“these conditions give the reporter a privileged point of view over what is surveyed, yet the nature of this privilege and the distance that it imposes between the seer and the seen rarely enters into the explicit content of journalistic writing”.

This privileged gaze can be overpowering and destructive. In a colonial situation it implies acquiring a sense of mastery over the unknown, especially through a specific convention of the privileged gaze – the ‘commanding view’. This ideological construction “offers aesthetic pleasure on the one hand, information and authority on the other” (Spurr, 1993, p. 15). In this context, sight bestows power onto the writers and journalists who rely for their authority on the analytical arrangement of space in order to provide them with a position of visual advantage.

1.3.1.1a Landscapes and Interiors

Spurr (1993) draws on the work of Mary Louise Pratt (1992) in which she highlights three elements to the rhetorical convention of the ‘unimaginable eye’ with respect to visual landscapes. Firstly, she argues that the landscape is aestheticized. Secondly, it is invested with a mass of meanings intended to portray its material and symbolic richness. Finally, the landscape is described so as to subordinate it to the power of the speaker. These three constituents of the discursive representation of landscapes is of particular importance in the context of my study, as the practice of assigning material and symbolic meanings onto visual landscapes is commonplace in many travel magazines.

Spurr (1993) goes on to discuss that it is specifically the Western eye that takes the reader of a travel magazine to the *inside* of the most primitive and exotic of unfamiliar places. Often the closer the writer is to the objects of observation, the more effective the meaning that is conveyed. For example, the orientalist writer Edward William Lane spent some time in Egypt disguised as a Turk (the ruling ethnicity at the time) in order to gain a more intimate understanding of the local culture [see Said (1978) for more]. Spurr (1993) argues that even if the ‘Western eye’ is a

sympathetic one, by virtue of the journalist's or writer's privileged position when observing the Other this 'watchful eye' still holds a commanding and controlling gaze.

Spurr (1993, p. 21) writes,

The Western eye remains mobile and selective, constantly filtering the visible for the sign, for those gestures and objects that when transformed into the verbal or photographic image, can alone have meaning for the Western audience by entering a familiar web of signification

1.3.1.1b Bodies

The body of the Other plays an important role in how the unfamiliar 'native' is represented. It can be an essentially defining characteristic of colonized people, as the body, much like landscapes, takes on a metaphorical meaning. Often bodies of Others are represented in purely visual terms. According to Spurr (1993), this is particularly noticeable in instances of Western portrayals of foreign bodies as captured, incapacitated, or dead. Spurr (1993, p. 25) highlights that, "the visual enframing and metaphorical transformations that characterize such images have a distancing effect: while calling attention to suffering, they also show it as *out there*: contained, defined, localized in a realm understood to be culturally apart."

The Western gaze, according to Spurr (1993) is thus able to make the world available as an object of study, converting 'primitive' people into synchronic items of aesthetic and visual perception. Saartjie Baartman, the iconic Khoisan woman who suffered from steatopygia and left her homeland under the impression that she would make a considerable amount of money as an object of scientific study in England serves as a good example of this. She was essentially 'put on display' for European audiences and exploited out of Western curiosity¹⁵. It is through the aestheticization of landscapes and bodies that the commanding eye is able to constitute unfamiliar cultural people into Others. Spurr (1993, p. 27) concludes his chapter on surveillance by stating that, "the writer's eye is always in some sense colonizing the landscape, mastering and portioning, fixing zones and poles, arranging and deepening the scene as the object of desire".

¹⁵ For more, see <http://www.zar.co.za/baartman.htm>.

1.3.1.2 Appropriation

The doctrine of appropriation is put forth by colonial administrators who saw natural resources as belonging to civilization and mankind. In addition to appropriating natural resources, appropriation also involves the domination and domestication of ‘native’ inhabitants of foreign lands on the grounds of a supposed necessity to civilize these people (Spurr, 1993, see also Said, 1978). Spurr (1993) reiterates the ideas of Said (and many others) by stating that for the British and French, African land was innately theirs, they simply had to claim it as such. This links appropriation with the notion of a nostalgic cultural memory in which the act of appropriation is intertwined with a natural spiritual return to a European agrarian past. As Griswold (1994, p. 154) points out, “colonizing powers projected the virtues of husbandry onto their relationship with the colonies, making themselves into good shepherds for grateful dark-skinned sheep”.

The practice of appropriation is carried out, in part, through devices such as naming and the use of grammar.¹⁶ This form of discursive appropriation became increasingly necessary as the original, cruder forms of colonial acquisition became unacceptable (Griswold, 1994). However, the idea of a Western influence in less-developed countries has always been inextricably linked to the notion that “a colonized people is morally improved and edified” through Western intervention (Spurr, 1993, p. 33). Spurr (1993) believes that appropriation continues long after the heyday of colonialism through apparatuses such as the media’s obsession with the popularity of Western consumer goods in less-developed nations. Western writers appropriate by highlighting the Others’ preference for Western products. The Other is thus, according to Spurr (1993), framed and developed discursively along Western lines (Griswold, 1994). The role of modern Western journalism is to “minimize conflict and cultural difference by celebrating the unifying power of Western commercial and cultural institutions” (Spurr, 1993, p. 35). The Other also constitutes a standard by which the Western world can define and judge itself. As Spurr (1993, p. 36) highlights, “the West seeks its own identity in Third World attempts at imitating it; it finds its own image, idealized, in the imperfect copies fabricated by other cultures”.

¹⁶ One only has to look at the names of countries during the colonial era to see examples of this discursive appropriation. For example, Belgian Congo, French Sudan and Portuguese East Africa (for more, see http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/hist_country_names.htm)

1.3.1.3 Aestheticization

Printed publications contain or suggest a plethora of aesthetic values expressed through a variety of representations. Third World countries are more susceptible to an aesthetic treatment, according to Spurr (1993). They seem to have an aesthetic value of their own which “continually provides what writers call ‘material’ of a special nature: the exotic, the grotesque, the elemental” (Spurr, 1993, p. 46). Spurr (1993) argues that this aesthetic qualification is created from a position of privilege and power. Readers have the pleasure of experiencing a sense of pathos and atavism through these discursive representations, however, the transforming power of these depictions increases with cultural distance. In other words, the so-called or projected violence and atavism of the Third World are tamed and suppressed in order to be presented to Western audiences in domesticated forms that are safe and suitable for the would-be tourist.

In the particular case of travel journalism, a relationship is developed not only between the consumer and current events (as is the case with news stories), but with the consumer and entire cultures. Spurr (1993, p. 49) argues that the discourse of the travel writer may “trivialize the spectacle through its gestures of touristic consumption”, however, issues of authenticity and the nature of authenticity are brought to the fore. According to Spurr (1993), the travel writer or journalist can never experience a ‘true’ sense of authenticity when writing about a foreign culture. “They experience a ‘postcolonial’ authenticity that can only be appreciated by an aesthetic which accepts the interpenetration of cultures as creating a new kind of beauty”, writes Spurr (1993, p. 50). He uses the example of *National Geographic* magazine to explore the role of journalistic representation, arguing that publications such as this homogenize the Western experience of the developing world and minimize and neutralize important social realities and relations of power. This buried ideology, according to Spurr (1993, p. 51) “makes possible the popular aesthetic of consumption in travel journalism”.

Spurr (1993) draws on the work of Derrida to highlight that imagination and reflection are used in order to always keep readers at a safe distance from the reality of the social situation. This is not to say, however, that representations of suffering and political and social unrest are not

extensively represented in the print media. Journalists such as the American born Charlayne Hunter-Gault (2006) argue that media coverage of the continent follows the ‘four Ds’ of the African apocalypse – disaster, disease, despair and death. However, in the case of the ideological formations expressed in travel journalism and literature, the suffering is presented in a formulaic, clichéd manner with little chance for reflection and imagination which evokes not pathos, but rather an “easily commodified sentimentality” (Spurr, 1993, p. 53). News coverage of the conflict in Zimbabwe, the Gaza Strip or Afghanistan serve as good examples of this. The journalists’ role in the colonial situation is complex and ambiguous, “as the attempt to create an interpretive context for a foreign reality collides with the calling into question of one’s authority to do so” (Spurr, 1993, p. 56).

1.3.1.4 Classification

In this rhetorical mode, Spurr (1993) discusses the nature of labeling and classifying the Other in exclusive and oppressive taxonomical groupings. According to him, Western writing about Africa has certain characteristics. Firstly, there is a condescending tone evident in such writings. Any form of failure is commonly attributed to the African character, rather than to historical causes and there is a proclivity to advise Africans on how to govern themselves and their societies, Secondly, a single standard of economic and political organization to which all nations must aspire to is conveyed. Finally, countries are classified according to their relative success or failure in meeting this economic and political standard. Spurr (1993) draws on the work of Foucault, suggesting that every discourse orders itself and establishes its own system of classification and arrangement. Classification thus performs a regulatory function by assigning positions and enforcing boundaries. However, this organizational system adapts and changes over time. As Spurr (1993, p. 63) states, “while this regulatory function of classification is always present, the nature of classification itself changes with the evolution of discourse”.

The practice of labeling and assigning categories to colonized peoples during the colonial period played a very important role in establishing and enforcing a powerful division between the

Western world and the unfamiliar Other.¹⁷ This system was indispensable to the colonial mission and to the practice of colonial rule. The taxonomical system served to rank native people according to their relative degrees of sophistication as seen from a European point of view. So, by its very structure, the system aimed to make colonial power more universal and internally scrupulous. Spurr (1993) argues that this original ideology of the civilized has been replaced by a modern equivalent, a new value system that seeks to perform the same classificatory function as that of the previous era. Hence, as colonial discourse has evolved, so has the system by which the Other is oppressively labeled.

1.3.1.5 Debasement

In this chapter of the text, Spurr (1993, p. 76) explores the reasons for what he calls the “rhetorical debasement of the Cultural Other”. He argues that the unknown is identified and reaffirmed in significant contrast to conventional norms. So when anxiety over the preservation of cultural order emerges or terms such as civilization are called into question, the cultural Other is designated by a set of values which strongly reaffirm the supposed difference between the ‘natives’ and the ‘civilized world’. This discursive production is centered on the notion of *abjection*.¹⁸ Spurr (1993) argues that for colonial discourse to strive, it requires a constant reproduction of images of abjection. This justifies European or the colonizing power’s intervention and strengthens the dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Colonialism is thus a social condition in which the precariously established order experiences a constant threat to the system from the colonized. This serves to intensify the obsessive repudiation of the Other. Hence, “the insistence on European standards of civility becomes an act of self-preservation by the dominant discourse against the lotus-like powers of an unknown land” (Spurr, 1993, p. 80).

¹⁷ The term ‘Hottentot’ serves as a good example of the oppressive nature of ‘naming’. The term was coined by early Dutch settlers in South Africa and it was used to refer to the Khoisan people. It translates as ‘stammer’ or ‘stutter’ in North Dutch dialects and it emerged as a result of the unfamiliar clicking language of the Khoisan.

¹⁸ Although I do not deal with the chapter explicitly, Spurr reiterates this point in chapter seven entitled ‘Affirmation’. Here he states that self affirmation relies on “the constant supply of images of chaos and disintegration, against which the principles of unity and order may be continually invoked” (Spurr, 1993, p. 121).

The abjection of the “savage” has been a pretext for imperial conquest and domination.¹⁹ Colonial discourse is an evasive strategy which is created through the exclusion of the native. The paradox here is that the natives were reviled for their non-Western otherness, yet attempts to imitate the ways of the West were ridiculed. As Spurr (1993, p. 86) highlights, “a colonized people is held in contempt for their lack of civility, loved for their willingness to acquire it, and ridiculed when they have acquired too much”. Modernization, postcolonialism and an increasingly consumeristic environment has led to an increase in the number of traditional societies that have left their rural origins for a better life in the urban cities. These attempts have often led to the weakening of the social hegemony and infrastructure of urban areas, as they decay into areas of poverty and waste. This results in ridicule or compassion from Western onlookers. Through various forms of abjection (social disorder, moral degradation, epidemic disease, etc.) the African landscape is cast as a transcendental combat zone destitute of identifiable humanity. Journalistic language aids in constructing this image and reducing the people of the Third World to the equivalent of a natural disaster (Spurr, 1993).²⁰

1.3.1.6 Negation

Postcolonial theorists have outlined how dominant cultures have created their identity as a negating identity against the Other (Fürsich and Robins, 2002). Negation refers to a rhetorical strategy by which Western writing conceives of the Other as “absence, emptiness, nothingness or death” (Spurr, 1993, p. 92). Using divisive, discursive structures of representation, travel writers are able to conquer the space of consciousness and ultimately colonize the mind of the ‘native’ through portraying them as absence. The principle of negation serves to reject the uncertain object for which words and experience provide no ample construct of interpretation and to clear the space for the expansion of the colonial imagination and the pursuit of desire (Spurr, 1993). So, structures of writing are inextricably linked to those of political power and these can never be fully distinguished from one another. Spurr (1993) argues that foreign places are constructed in

¹⁹ Charles Darwin’s *The Descent of Man* (1871) highlights the supposed immoral qualities of the savage and the perceived inability they have to understand or embody modern civility, in the eyes of the author.

²⁰ See Hunter-Gault’s (2006) text *New News Out of Africa* and Richard Dowden’s (2008) *Africa – Altered States, Ordinary Miracles* for a discussion on the role of contemporary journalism in creating balanced representations of the African continent.

Western writing as absence and this absence adopts a political value in the real world. According to Spurr, this value is set at zero, however, it is less formidable than nothingness itself as it implies the possibility of change and progress; change and progress that will undoubtedly be discursively constructed as originating from European intervention²¹.

1.3.1.6a Negative Space

Within the realm of European writing pre-1960, Africa was often constructed as a spatial projection of the dark void at the heart of modern life (Spurr, 1993)²². A Western discourse of the Other commonly and consistently represents colonized peoples and landscapes in terms of negation and absence. This could be an absence of order, of limits, of spirit, and so on. As Spurr (1993, p. 96) highlights, the Other's "zero-degree of existence provides both a justification for the colonizing enterprise and an imaginary empty space for the projection of a modernist angst". African landscapes and places are cast as barren, empty arenas available for Western imperial conquest. During the colonial era, writers may have resorted to negation simply as a result of a lack of constructions of a social reality in the non-Western world. However, the construction of Africa as a spatial void has continued in a modern era in other forms. For example, Africa may be considered as absence in the form of lack of foreign investment, of social experimentation, of strategic importance, etc.

1.3.1.6b Negative History

Negation does not only exist in a spatial sense, but the discourse of negation denies history as well, constituting the past as absence (Spurr, 1993). According to Spurr (1993) Africa either has an absence of history or African history can only be spoken of in a negative sense. This absence exists on two levels. Firstly, the absence of history as written text, and secondly, the absence of history as a movement towards a specific destiny.

²¹ Spurr's notion of 'negation' has been criticised. See section 1.3.4 below.

²² Joseph Conrad's (1902) *The Heart of Darkness* serves as a good example of this type of discursive representation.

Spurr (1993, p. 99) expresses what he believes to be the reason for this African lack of history when he states,

the Africans lack a history because they have failed to leave a permanent mark on the landscape – no ancient architecture, no monuments or records – nothing to bring about the transformation and construction of the environment which provides the measure of civilization.

Thus, cultural Others are forced to live in a constant state of self-presence in which they are unable to leave their mark on the world and hence unable to progress and move forward. Once again this idea makes room for the moral necessity of cultural transformation manifested in the colonial powers creating a history where there was seemingly none before.

Spurr (1993, p. 102) argues that Africa needs to be understood in light of its many pluralistic identities that lie beyond a “purely positivist awareness”.²³ According to Spurr (1993, p. 102),

“the concept of African history thus would be freed from the rule of linear narrative under which it has been designated as absence; instead, it would assume a more spatial form, a field in which difference is played out according to continually changing laws of possibility”.

1.3.1.6c Negative Language

In a Western context, a well-established linguistic capability is representative of a developed and concrete culture. Spurr (1993, p. 103) highlights that “a developed language is external to nature and supplementary to the original condition, the degree of development marking how far a people has come from its primitive being”. He argues that non-Western people were, and still are, denied the power of language; they are not permitted to speak. Often this incoherence and inability to speak were and continue to be used in colonialist writing. This places the Other in a condition of unintelligibility and accentuates, in contrast, the understanding and intelligibility that the Westerner experiences. This negation of linguistic capability has not ceased to play a role in contemporary, modern representations of the Other by Western authors (Spurr, 1993).

²³ This ethnographic sentiment is an example of Spurr’s proclivity towards an active strategy for change with respect to the representation of the Other.

1.3.1.7 Idealization

The ‘savage’²⁴ has been idealized in a number of different ways, often being utilized as a form of construct to project the ideologies of Western colonial writers. A similarity amongst the varying idealizations of the ‘savage’ is that they all conceive an idea of the Other that expands the territory of the Western imagination and can be easily integrated into the framework of Western values (Spurr, 1993). Spurr (1993, p. 128) argues that “the idealization of the savage has always taken place alongside a more general idealization of the Cultural Other”. This idealization conceives of the African continent as a free reign of fulfilled desire; a reverie of exotic wish fulfillment.²⁵ This is often expressed through ideologies of Africa as exotic and its people as sexually liberated.²⁶ Of course, many Western writers found disappointment in the social reality of Africa and its deviation from the sentimental writings on which they based their assumptions of the continent. The Western idealization of Africa has followed numerous varying forms, all of which have denied the indigenous inhabitants a voice with which to speak about their own social reality.

Spurr (1993) also discusses the highly problematic issue of authenticity in this chapter. He draws on the example of the Tasaday tribe²⁷ who were symbolically constructed in the media as humankind in its original undivided status. This later proved to be a farce. Spurr (1993) refutes the notion of ‘true’ authenticity and believes that it should be put aside. And, according to Spurr (1993, p. 140), “from this perspective, culture itself is no longer a unified and coherent construct,

²⁴ “Savage” in this case refers to the label that Western imperialists ascribed to the indigenous inhabitants whose culture they did not understand.

²⁵ Spurr also explores this notion in chapter 9 entitled *Insubstantialization*. Here he suggests that many Western writers use the backdrop of exotic, foreign locations in order to express some kind of inner psyche. Modern journalism seems to some degree to have adopted this convention and the contemporary travel journalist uses an encounter with a foreign place as a pretext to a personal style.

²⁶ In chapter 11 – *Eroticization* – Spurr examines the manner in which the relationship between coloniser and colonised is metaphorically conveyed as the sexual relationship between men and women. He uses the term ‘eroticization’ to refer to depictions of foreign places that emphasise sexual allure, desire and liberation. Modern journalism continues to use sexual allure to attract potential travellers.

²⁷ The Tasaday were allegedly a Stone Age tribe discovered in the rainforests of the Philippines in 1971. They were purportedly an un-contacted isolated people. It was later discovered that they were more than likely members of the local tribes who were bribed into pretending to be an undiscovered culture by their “discoverer” Manuel Elizalde. Although this is still debated and contested by Tasaday believers. See <http://www.tasaday.com>.

but rather an ongoing phenomenon in human relations arising out of the dialectical play between forces of homogeneity and heterogeneity”.

1.3.1.8 Naturalization

In this chapter, Spurr (1993) explores the discursive reinforcement of the notion that non-Western people are in some way bound to nature and that nature is synonymous with war, chaos and the primitive. Nature and naturalization can be understood in two ways with respect to colonial discourse. Firstly, nature can be cast in opposition to civilization as primitive people live in a state of balance and harmony with nature. Secondly, it can refer to a natural law that grants dominion over the earth to more advanced people. In addition to this ‘naturalization’ in literary theory can be understood as a range of operations in a play, poem or novel which make the plot intelligible and plausible. So, colonial discourse can naturalize in more than one sense, “while it identifies a colonized or primitive people as part of the natural world, it also presents this identification as entirely ‘natural’, as a simple state of what is rather than as a theory based in interest” (Spurr, 1993, p. 157). The idea of naturalization in both of the senses mentioned above is deeply embedded in language. Historically, there has been a struggle between nature and culture as colonial powers have attempted to identify non-European peoples with the forces of nature and then place nature in opposition to culture and civilization. This aids in providing a justification for the European colonizing mission (Spurr, 1993).

Nature was established and conquered by combining the forces of knowledge, writing and political power. So, knowledge of the Other and of nature is an embellishment, in a Foucauldian sense, of the process of inscribing one’s own name onto the unknown (Spurr, 1993).²⁸ In many forms of writing, the dichotomy between nature and culture is established thereby rendering the Other in need of imperial intervention. As mentioned above, Western journalism tends to focus on the negative, adopting a strategy of ‘if it bleeds, it leads’. This journalistic, market-driven focus on the chaos and disorder of the continent emphasizes a society that is not fully evolved

²⁸ Mary Louise Pratt (1992) also explores the notion of labelling and naming as it relates to early European scientific expeditions. See section 1.4.1 below.

from nature or a natural state. Often images of nature are bound up with those of war and chaos (Spurr, 1993). Nature becomes substituted for history and human conflict becomes an intrinsic feature of the landscape. Spurr (1993) argues that this modern rhetoric of contemporary journalism relates to earlier philosophical and scientific principles in two ways. Firstly, the modern rhetoric produces new versions of the idea that primitive people exist in a state of nature and that their relations can be understood primarily as manifestations of natural law. Secondly, it reiterates the concept proposed by evolutionary theory that primitive people reside with nature at one end of a historical continuum that measures the difference between savagery and civilization. So, “the identification of Third World peoples with the forces of nature relates to the belief in *essences* that govern the behavior of one people or another” (Spurr, 1993, p. 167). This allows for the creation of discursive constructions of quintessential cultural Others – the typical African for example. Nature serves as an empty space which is waiting to be assigned meaning through writing. War and chaos are further labeled as natural phenomena; war-like people subscribe to military struggle and in colonial (imperial) mindset, winning a war cemented the right to rule a territory.

1.3.2 Applying Spurr’s Twelve Rhetorical Modes

I have explored the eight of Spurr’s (1993) twelve rhetorical modes in the above discussion that are pertinent to my research. Essentially, Spurr (1993) focuses on colonial discourse and the manner in which travel writers make sense of the strange and often perplexing realities of unfamiliar, foreign locations. The conversion of landscapes and foreign bodies into signifiers of the travelers’ eye and the ‘packaging’ of a Third World aesthetic for prospective tourists are useful concepts for the purposes of my study. Similarly to Said (1978) Spurr (1993) explores the manner in which generalizing and classifying unknown cultures into recognizable stereotypes is a common precursor to drawing a divide between “us” and “them” in the travel journalism realm. Cultures, people and landscapes are metaphorically portrayed as absence in an attempt to create a void which can only be filled through intervention by ‘the civilized’ (Spurr, 1993). Indigenous people are construed and idealized in specific ways in order to fulfill the ideological aspirations of the travel writers writing about them. Often inhabitants of Third World countries are bound up with an aesthetic of war, abjection and chaos (Spurr, 1993). These ideas portrayed by Spurr

(1993) are vital in the development of my theoretical framework. They provide an understanding of colonial discourse which is congruous with that of Said (1978) and also serves to describe how cultural Others are represented by travel writers and journalists.

1.3.4 Criticism of Spurr

Spurr's (1993) text is not without the occasional criticism. Although he makes a persuasive case, his arguments at times appear simplistic. He suggests that a specific theme or rhetorical mode came from a certain place, did something and is continuing to do it in one way or another (Griswold, 1994). Griswold (1994) has critiqued Spurr's chapter on 'negation' in detail. She suggests that Spurr's contention that "the writer is the original and ultimate colonizer" (Spurr, 1993, p. 93) is simplistic and is contradicted by the rest of his argument. Spurr (1993) suggests that negation is a process which involves the initial erasure of what the Other may have written and this is followed by the writing of progress on a blank slate. Griswold (1994) raises two concerns in relation to this. Initially, she questions Spurr's choice of words when he states that "structures of discourse...recapitulate the historical process of establishing and maintaining colonial rule" (Spurr, 1993, p. 93). The word 'recapitulate' seems to suggest that discourse follows the exercise of real power (Griswold, 1994). This is incongruous with some other areas of Spurr's (1993) argument and is in contrast with the view adopted by most discourse analysts. Secondly, Spurr (1993) does not seem to take into account cultures in which nothingness is something to be admired. For example, in Japan, "silence and emptiness are aesthetically central" (Griswold, 1994, p. 155). He explores the term in a pejorative sense and does not consider that it may play a positive role in different cultures.

1.4 Mary Louise Pratt and *Imperial Eyes*

Mary Louise Pratt's expertise range from Latin American Literature and Latin American Studies, into comparative literature, linguistics, postcolonial studies, feminist and gender studies, anthropology and cultural studies. Her seminal text *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) explores the discursive construction of Africa and Latin America by metropolitan writers. It serves as a highly influential text, as it examines how travel writing has produced the rest of the world for non-European audiences, studying in close detail the relationship between subjects that are often subordinated and metropolitan travel writers. Much of Pratt's (1992) text focuses on writings emanating from the colonial era with a focus on Western discursive oppression and as such these writings are not directly applicable to my study. However, as was the case with Said (1978) and Spurr (1993), I intend to use the *ideas* presented by Pratt (1992) and apply these to a modern context.

1.4.1 Natural History

Early imperialist ventures were carried out under the guise of the scientific expedition. This expansionist tool was a source of ideological apparatuses through which imperial Europeans related themselves to the rest of the world. A particular form of the scientific expedition emerged when Linnaeus created a methodological, classificatory system for plants (Pratt, 1992). This ushered in a plethora of travelers who made it their task to classify new species. Hence, a naturalist narrative emerged. This systematizing of nature through linguistic apparatuses powerfully asserted the authority of science. Pratt (1992) highlights that many of the natural historians who adopted this new found taxonomical system saw themselves as engaged in providing a name for that which was already there. However, natural history "conceived of the world as a chaos out of which the scientist *produced* an order" (Pratt, 1992, p. 30). Knowledge, in this case, seems to exist more as human activities in an interwoven mesh of verbal and non-verbal practices. The convention of a classificatory system for plants called upon human intervention to convert random species into comprehensible components in a larger system of knowledge and understanding. As Pratt (1992, p. 31) states, "one by one the planet's life forms

were to be drawn out of the tangled threads of their life and surroundings and rewoven into European-based patterns of global unity and order”.

Pratt (1992) aims to highlight that this taxonomical project was (and still is) based on a discursive process of knowledge formation in which the chaos of the natural world is converted into simplistic knowledge for the bourgeois European. The systemizing of nature represents the installment of a European discourse about non-European worlds. It represents a project of hegemonic domination of European thought. Scientific expeditions often served a double purpose as both scholarly missions as well as scouting missions to establish potentially commercially exploitable natural resources.

1.4.2 Anti-Conquest

Pratt (1992) is largely concerned with the mutual engagement between the natural history project and European political and economic expansion. As I have already mentioned above, this taxonomical system exerts a kind of global hegemony based on the possession of land and resources. The system reflects a utopian, innocent vision of European authority which Pratt (1992) labels ‘anti-conquest’. As Guelke and Guelke (2004, p. 1) point out,

Pratt’s thesis is essentially that naturalists like Alexander von Humboldt, who traveled to destinations remote from Europe and little known to it, disingenuously represented themselves as ‘innocent’ interpreters of nature, whereas their writing implicate them fully in colonial dispossession, even when the travelers were not themselves agents of the colonizing nations.

Pratt (1992) highlights how natural history provided a means for narrating inland travel and exploration which was aimed at territorial surveillance, administrative control and the appropriation of resources. Pratt (1992) draws on the works of Peter Kolb, Anders Sparrman and William Paterson to highlight that European authority and legitimacy were never questioned or contested in natural history narratives. Rather, the authors are akin to Adam in the Garden of Eden as they naturalize the subordination of the indigenous inhabitants.²⁹ Pratt (1992, p. 53)

²⁹ This reference to Adam and not Eve highlights that the majority of travellers were men.

states, “indigenous voices are almost never quoted, reproduced, or even invented in these late eighteenth century accounts”. These naturalists depicted themselves as innocent, infant-like heroes”.

Anti-conquest expeditions often involved an encoding of potential British advancement under the discursive rhetoric of the ‘European improving eye’ (Pratt, 1992). Natural historians would encode particular encounters with land and people as ‘in need of improvement’ in keeping with the terms of the anti-conquest. These necessary improvements were, of course, always in the form of imperial intervention.

In chapter four, Pratt (1992) uses the work of Mungo Park (1799) to highlight the mode of sentimentality writing that emerged in the late eighteenth century. She aims to show how this form of writing both challenges and complements the emergent authority of the objectivist science which I have introduced above. Park writes himself as the central figure in his text *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1799). Similarly to the scientific tradition, the sentimental writer is the (anti-)hero of the anti-conquest. What is of central concern in Pratt’s (1992) discussion of Park’s (1799) text is the elusive concept of reciprocity. Park’s (1799) everyday struggles in the text consist of attempts to achieve reciprocity between himself and the unfamiliar Others. ‘Reciprocal vision’ is a label Pratt (1992) ascribes to the situation in which a deliberate juxtaposition is drawn between the knowledge and culture of a foreign place and European knowledge and culture. Park’s (1799) human-centered narrative makes reference to such moments, but never criticizes and critically questions European ideals. This is the key issue. His text is believable and appears credible and honest. However, much like the symbolic project of travel writing, Park’s sentimental form is still embedded within the deceptiveness of the anti-conquest. The imperialist ideals of the European empire are concealed in moments of reciprocal vision. This notion must be extended to the realm of travel journalism. Potential occasions of anti-conquest must be sought for in the discursive constructions portrayed in modern travel writing.

1.4.3 The Transcultural

‘Transculturation’ is a vital term that Pratt (1992) invokes consistently throughout her text. It describes how subordinated groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. It refers to the general process of cultural mediation of the relations between colonizer and colonized, travelers and ‘travelees’ and, particularly, the cultural texts that are produced from such encounters (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). In the case of the reinvention of South America following decolonization, transculturation played an important role in adapting the ideological, European groundwork provided by Alexander von Humboldt. Many postcolonial accounts of South America draw on the naturalist descriptions that von Humboldt created years earlier. However, von Humboldt’s discourse was adapted and transformed in various ways in order to produce a transcultural understanding of the newly independent area.

Transculturation is equally important in an African context, as many countries battle to establish a sense of cultural and national identity following colonial domination. All travel accounts of foreign places are inevitably and to some extent transcultural in nature as they involve the reinvention of conventional knowledge and understanding in order to make sense of an unfamiliar location. Pratt’s (1992) understanding of transculturation does, however, refer to *subordinated* groups inventing from the materials transmitted to them by a dominant culture. ‘Subordinate’ in this case may refer to foreign or unfamiliar. In a similar conceptual mode of thinking, the unknown Others that are so often the feature of travel accounts are more than likely transcultural from exposure to Western travelers at one time or another. Ultimately, it is imperative that the role, nature and extent of transculturation be considered with respect to travel journalism.

1.4.4 The Monarch-of-all-I-See Scene

An important relationship exists between the esthetic³⁰ and the ideological in what Pratt (1992) describes as the ‘monarch-of-all-I-see scene’. She is referring here to travel writers who adopt a tone of authority and power over that which they observe. The passive experience of seeing represents the moment of *discovery* in which the intrepid explorer estheticizes the landscape and its people. Pratt (1992) draws attention to three conventional means which create quantitative and qualitative value for the explorers’ achievement. The first of these involves *estheticizing* the landscape. Natural places are coded into often lavish descriptions of wonderment and desire. Secondly, *density of meaning* is sought in the passage of writing. This involves searching for some form of qualification for the description which will boost its importance and significance. Lastly, the seer adopts the power to ideologically *dominate* the seen. The relation of mastery between the seer and that which is seen plays an important role in the representation of the Other.³¹ The seer has the power to evaluate, describe and assess the scene. This is a self-ascribed power that often results in the subordination and oppression of the ‘natives’.

Pratt (1992) regularly draws attention to dissident voices within the oppressive framework of colonial discourse. In chapter nine she discusses the work of female travel writer Mary Kingsley and her text *Travels in West Africa* (1897). Kingsley’s work was not congruous with the paradigm of the masculine naturalist hero that was the norm for most travel writing at the time. Kingsley (1897) believed in economic expansion without oppression and exploitation. She serves as just one of many examples of unorthodox or nonconformist views that Pratt (1992) draws attention to. This acknowledgment of writers that break the mold is vital as it highlights the potential to do so. Nonconformist views can hold a place within the larger hegemonic structure of colonial domination. In a modern context, similar voices must not be ignored. I intend to determine whether or not an active strategy for better representational practices with regard to the Other exists.³² And in the case of its absence and the necessity for it, I aim to explore how

³⁰ I have spelt ‘esthetic’ in this instance without the additional ‘a’ in keeping with the spelling used by Pratt in her text.

³¹ This notion is also explored in the work of Said (1978) and Spurr (1993) above.

³² The notion of an active strategy for change is explored by Fürsich in chapter 2 below.

strategies can be incorporated. Pratt's (1992) focus on the less popular, dissident voices opens the gateway for such possibilities

1.4.5 Modern Travel Writing

The three strategies mentioned above (estheticization, density of meaning and domination) are still at work in a modern context according to Pratt (1992).³³ She believes that modern travel accounts offer a contemporary reworking of the monarch-of-all-I-see scene, although in this case the writers' vantage points are hotel and airplane windows. The difference is often a more negative and pessimistic discourse. The naturalist writers of the colonial era created discourses of optimism often taking great care to convey the aesthetic beauty of the places they journeyed to. However, in a modern context of globalization, decolonization and postcolonial confusion, the lands of hope and plenitude have given way to the realities of neocolonialism and underdevelopment. Themes of dehumanization, trivialisation and casting African and South American history as absence still prevail in a modern context. Pratt (1992, p. 220) highlights this when she writes, "they [travel writers and journalists] are still up there, commanding the view, assigning it value, oblivious to limitations on their perceptual capacities, their realities of privilege perfectly naturalized". Pratt (1992) makes reference to Joan Didion's *Salvador* (1983) to fuel her argument that a sense of disillusionment marked the end of the 'colonial seeing-man' in the 1980s.

1.4.6 Applying Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*

Pratt's (1992) concepts of transculturation and anti-conquest at the contact zone are very useful for studies involving modern travel journalism. She explores the manner in which people and cultures come together and try to develop a sense of cultural identity following decolonization. This inevitably involves forms of transculturation as materials from various sources are adapted and altered to produce new understandings. Pratt's (1992) concept of the anti-conquest will be applied in my study as I examine whether or not forms of neocolonialism are concealed in some

³³ Again, it must be noted that 'modern' in this instance refers to the time at which the text was published.

way beneath other discursive or linguistic apparatuses. The three strategies or conventional means used by travel writers - estheticization, density of meaning and domination – will also be incorporated and applied to my study.

1.4.7 Criticisms of Pratt

Leonard and Jeanne Kay Guelke (2004) have criticized Pratt's (1992) text. In their article, *Imperial Eyes on South Africa*, they focus specifically on Pratt's chapter on travel writers operating in South Africa. They aim to reassess Pratt's conclusions arguing that these writers often express sympathy for indigenous people, contrary to the imperialist agenda.

Guelke and Guelke (2004) present two primary criticisms of Pratt's (1992) text. Firstly, they argue that not enough attention is paid to empirical historical evidence with regards to the conditions under which the travel writers in question lived. They believe that empirical and critical-theoretical studies have a certain intertextuality and as such more attention should be paid to the 'physicality' of the travel experience. This is not to say that Pratt completely ignores the circumstances under which these writers were operating. She expresses clearly her understanding that discourses can change over time, in what she describes as discursive shifts. However, Guelke and Guelke (2004) argue that she does not pay enough attention to the potential historical events that could have caused these shifts. There is no doubt that these writers carried with them imperialist agendas, however, to condemn them simply on this basis is a little impetuous. Rather, the focus should be on whether or not they expressed some form of concern for the Others at the contact zone, or at the very least, questioned their own imperialist actions. I will take into account the 'physicality' of the travel experience when examining the selected publications.

1.5 Conclusion

The work of Said (1978), Spurr (1993) and Pratt (1992) form the theoretical foundation of my analytical framework. Said and Spurr both explore the concept of a discursive structure for understanding the strange and often perplexing realities of unfamiliar, foreign locations. They are also alike in their theorizing of stereotypes or myths of the Other that are perpetuated through discursive constructions underpinning the division between “us” and “them”. Said (1978) believes that through the creation of a textual universe, a discursive consistency is maintained which generalizes and subordinates cultural Others. Spurr also examines the concept of colonial discourse and the conversion of landscapes and foreign bodies into signifiers of the travelers’ eye ‘packaging’ a Third World aesthetic for prospective tourists. His work also deals with the manner in which African cultures, people and landscapes are portrayed as absence and are often inextricably linked with an aesthetic of war and chaos. Indigenous inhabitants are idealized in particular ways in order to fulfill the ideological aspirations of the travel writers writing about them. These concepts are vital to my postcolonial analytical framework. Pratt contributes an additional element to this structure in her discussion of anti-conquest and the transcultural realities facing many African cultures. Her concept of the anti-conquest will be applied in my study as I examine whether or not forms of neocolonialism are concealed in some way beneath other discursive or linguistic apparatuses. In the subsequent chapter I will explore the work of Elfriede Fürsich (2001 & 2002) in an attempt to specify the postcolonial theories dealt with in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORIZING TRAVEL JOURNALISM

2.1 Introduction

Thus far I have discussed contributions in the field of postcolonial studies from Edward Said (1978), David Spurr (1993) and Mary Louise Pratt (1992). Whilst these texts are useful, they are not based explicitly within the cultural meaning-making arena of travel journalism. And although the discursive oppression of the Other through the linguistic apparatuses of the imperialistic agenda are dealt with in these texts, they are only tangentially related to the contemporary realm of global tourism and travel. Young (2001) argues that postcolonialism always mixes the past with the present and I intend at this point to extend the theoretical ideas of these postcolonial theorists to describe a more current context. The German-born theorist Elfriede Fürsich (2001 & 2002) bases her research in the realm of travel journalism and explores frameworks for representing cultural Others. Her theoretical contributions will prove invaluable in the extension of my analytical framework to more contemporary forms of travel writing. I will also be using the work of other theorists within the diverse sphere of cultural tourism to support my analytical framework.

Fürsich's research interests include media globalization, cultural studies, journalism as a cultural practice, media literacy and criticism and postmodern theory. I will be drawing from a selection of her articles which explore the critical framing of cultural Others in travel journalism. I will also draw from her study entitled "Africa.com", in which Fürsich and Robins (2002) examine the self-representation of 29 sub-Saharan African countries on the World Wide Web. They explore the manner in which these nations "brand" themselves according to specific "African criteria" in order to "construct citizens as exotic Others who can be marketed to foreign investors and tourists" (Fürsich and Robins, 2002, p.190). Fürsich's work will be used to examine the complex hypothesis that travel journalism is a large meaning-creating arena for drawing borders between "us" and "them". I aim to understand the extent to which, if at all, travel journalism reinforces or refutes traditionally held conceptions or stereotypes of African cultures, people, places and politics.

2.2 Mapping a Critical Framework

In “Mapping a critical framework for the study of travel journalism”, Fürsich and Kavoori (2001) discuss the importance of studying travel journalism as a textual system and explore potential frameworks for the analysis of this emerging practice. They argue that “travel journalism is an important site for studying the ideological dimensions of tourism, transcultural encounters and the ongoing dynamics of media globalization” (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001, p. 149). Five reasons are offered for the importance of studying travel journalism as an ideological site. It is important to examine these reasons in more detail as they provide a rationale for the analysis of travel texts.

2.2.1 The Boom of the Tourism Industry

Tourism is considered to be one of the world’s largest industries generating a massive amount of revenue (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). International travel has become more commonplace and many developing countries are hoping to make tourism one of their primary economic sectors. This means that tourism is no longer only practiced by the elites, but rather it is a common practice amongst many middle class individuals (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). Travel journalism thrives in this transforming global and political situation and as such it should not be ignored as a relevant subject of critical analysis.

2.2.2 The Impact of Tourism Remains Understudied

The social and cultural role of tourism and travel journalism has largely been ignored by social scientists. The bulk of the research performed in this field is concerned with market values and economic information. This communication research is used primarily to evaluate promotional strategies (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). More research is needed in the field of tourism and travel journalism that focuses on the social and cultural impact inflicted by these constructs.

2.2.3 Leisure as a Significant Social Practice

Previously, tourism and travel journalism were restricted to the private realm and were not deemed suitable for critical scholarly study. Travel was regarded as a recreational activity void of any social or political meaning (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). Work on tourism or travel that was performed by anthropologists was hidden in field notes and considered a hindrance to scientific study rather than an object of study itself (Nuñez, 1989 in Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). The reason for the devaluing of the importance of travel journalism may lie in the fact that leisurely cultural pursuits were not deemed worthy of critical theoretical engagement, highlighting a larger dichotomy between work and play (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). However, due to the increase in the popularity of travelling as a recreational pursuit, it is this focus on leisure that makes the study of travel journalism and tourism so necessary.

2.2.4 The Importance of Travel Journalism as a site for International Communication Research

There has been an exponential growth in the amount of travel journalism being produced and the amount of money being circulated in the tourism industry. In 2007 it was calculated that the tourism industry contributed 11 percent to the global GDP (*Africa Geographic*, 2007, Vol. 15, No. 7). This has more than likely increased since the release of these figures. Through specialized publications in the form of magazines, newspaper supplements and websites, travel journalism has acquired a significant place in the global tourism industry. Blog-hosting websites such as *Travelblog.org* provide a public space for ordinary individuals to showcase their travel writing and photojournalistic skills for free. The expanding tourism business affects the media industry in two ways according to Fürsich and Kavoori (2001). Firstly, an increase in accessibility has resulted in the stream of travelers no longer flowing in a one-way direction from the West to the rest of the world. International travel is now accessible to a wider range of individuals, which results in an increase in the number of specialist publications offering practical travel information. Secondly, a greater demand for travel journalism results in further possibilities for advertising to a targeted, receptive market segment. “These two trends are very

likely to stimulate a bigger market for specialized travel journalism on a global scale” (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001, p. 153).

In a progressively expanding global media arena, the need to critically evaluate representations of the Other becomes essential. Previously, studies involving such representations targeted ‘hard’ news and strayed away from publications focusing on leisure. However, the rapid increase of this cultural field indicates the necessity to expand communication studies to include other media genres such as travel journalism.

2.2.5 The Special Contingencies of Travel Journalism

According to Fürsich and Kavoori (2001, p. 154) travel journalism “exists in a symbiotic relationship with advertising”. It needs to be analysed for its apparent unspoken loyalty to the advertising and travel industry. Communication researchers should explore the discourses and ideologies at play in contemporary travel journalism and the effect that this has on representations of cultural Others.

2.3 Three Perspectives for the Analysis of Travel Journalism

Elfriede Fürsich and Anandam Kavoori (2001) identify three different perspectives that can inform the study of travel journalism. These three broad standpoints include issues of periodization, power and identity and experience and phenomenology. For the purposes of my research, their power and identity perspective is the most relevant; however, elements will be drawn from the other rubrics as well. The ideas of modernity, postmodernity and nationalism (which fall under the “issues of periodization” perspective) will be used in order to better understand identity creation in a postcolonial context. The expansion and emergence of tourism as a global industry can be regarded as an offshoot of modernity. The development of modernity ushered in a stronger dichotomy between the spheres of leisure and work. In addition to this,

issues of cultural authenticity and identity become more significant as urban development and technology alters previous lifestyles and ways of seeing and being seen (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). Indeed, a mass tourism industry of commodified and commercialized travel seems to contrast acutely with the notion of an ‘unspoilt, remote African bush’ and significantly, which in itself, ironically beomes that very product in upmarket safari offers. Essentially, a closer look at modernity helps to answer questions of authenticity and cultural identity formation in a postcolonial context.

Postmodernity is characterized by fragmentation and cultural hybridity. Often, in a global tourism industry authenticity is blended into a *mélange* of false representations that serve as examples of packaged culture performed for tourist consumption. In Gavin Bell’s (2000) armchair travel text, *Somewhere Over the Rainbow: Travels in South Africa*, he describes the popular tourist location *Shakaland* in terms of a concoction of false authenticity.³⁴ Hence, postmodernity raises important questions regarding authenticity, cultural identity and the complexity of fluid postmodern travel narratives.

Modernity and nationalism are inextricably linked. The process of ‘becoming modern’ is often seen as a goal of emergent nation-states. Fürsich and Kavoori (2001) argue that tourism plays a vital economic and a symbolic role in the development of the nation-state and its representation both internally and externally. In an African context this could involve praising certain nostalgic tourist attractions such as the ‘wild African *bushveld*’ in an attempt to highlight the importance of traditional cultural roots. Once again this raises the fundamental issue of the contradiction between the commodification of a nostalgic rural past and an attempted move towards modernity. A closer examination of the role of nationalism in contemporary travel journalism raises important questions which I intend to address in my study. Questions such as, how does travel journalism fit into nationalist constructions? What role does travel journalism play in

³⁴ The notion of simulated reality or simulacra is explored by poststructuralist theorists such as Guy Debord (2001) and Jean Baudrillard (2001) who argue that we exist in a state of ‘hyperreality’ or ‘spectacle’ as the real has become unattainable in a fragmented postmodern era.

reconciling the paradoxes of nationalism, modernization and authenticity? Whose conception of nation is being conveyed by travel institutions?

2.3.1 Power and Identity

The power and identity perspective is segmented into two important components of international communication and cultural studies (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). These include cultural or media imperialism and ideology and identity formation. Both of these sub-categories will be useful in contributing to my analytical framework. An exploration of the representation of Africa through travel journalism will inevitably involve investigating travel journalism as a key site of ideological formation as ideologies “provide a framework for action and understanding complex and incomprehensible realities – in the case of tourism [and travel journalism] the contact with the other” (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001, p. 162). I will examine cultural identity formation and ideology as they are discursively constructed within the selected publications. The notion of cultural imperialism will be used to fully understand the extent of a possible Western influence on travel journalism in the selected publications. This will include an exploration of the manner in which imperialism has shifted from a territorial domination of the “native” to a discursive suppression of the subject (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001 & Said, 1978) by pandering to an increasingly narcissistic traveling culture, be it the spartanic backpacker or the self-sufficient, technically savvy 4X4 enthusiast, both of whose self-centred views leave little space for engagement.

As I have already mentioned, previous studies on tourism have failed to consider the political and economic contexts in which the industry operates. Some theorists such as Hall (1994) and MacCannell (1989) have argued that tourism extends the unequal relations of power operating within the global economic system. Tourism and tourist publications act as a form of cultural domination often constructed by Western nations. Modern imperialism operates in the form of a discursive control following the territorial domination of the ‘native’ during the colonial era. Similarly to Said (1978), Pratt (1992) and Spurr (1993), Fürsich and Kavoori (2001) argue that travel journalism and travel writing perpetuate discourses of dominance and oppression,

homogenizing cultural Others through a selective framing of representations. Therefore, questions regarding this framing need to be considered in relation to cultural imperialism.

Ideology formation is a symbolic process. Its nature is commonly disguised and it functions in a naturalized fashion (Deacon, 1999). Ideologies can provide a framework for understanding the subtext or naturalized meanings embedded within representations of cultural Others. Through symbolic processes and contrasting practices, travel journalism must be considered a key site of ideological formation (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). Travel journalists more than other travelers are trying to ‘fix’ the Other, according to Fürsich and Kavoori (2001). It is their job to create a profound narrative about cultural Others and foreign places – essentially they must package culture (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001). García Canclini (1989, in Bonet, 2003, p.191) argues that “the commercialization generated by the development of cultural tourism frequently leads to making a spectacle out of cultural identities”. The natural environment can become falsified and commercialized in order to make it appear more appealing for tourists (Bonet, 2003). In a global travel context, the discourse employed by travel journalists is particularly charged as they function as cultural translators trying to define identity. It is important to investigate the relationships between the various institutions in the multifaceted travel journalism industry and the ideologies operating within these institutions. Government, advertising firms, writers/journalists, tourists and public relations agencies can all be involved in a single travel publication. The amalgamated portrayal of the Other that emerges from these interlocking institutions must be investigated.

2.4 The Epistemological Problem of Representing the Other?

In the journal article ‘How can global journalists represent the Other?’ Fürsich (2002) argues that although a cultural studies approach to researching representations of the Other is useful, it lacks the potential to overcome the epistemological problem that journalists face when trying to portray cultural Others. The dilemma Fürsich (2002) is referring to in this case involves the problematic minefield of ‘objective reporting’. The debate is whether or not travel journalists can represent cultural Others without obscuring cultural complexities or stereotyping the Others and

places they are writing about. In other words, is it epistemologically possible to create fair knowledge about the Other, or do we always use procedures of dichotomizing, restructuring and textualising when making interpretive statements about foreign cultures (Clifford, 1988, in Fürsich, 2002)? This dilemma can be extended to academic studies in this area, as a critical discourse analysis of the representation of Others will inevitably involve drawing conclusions that will contribute to more accurate and fair portrayals of indigenous people. These suggestions for improvement will themselves be based on assumptions of what is best for the inhabitants of foreign Third World countries. Indeed, even the simple recognition of a dichotomy between ‘us’ and ‘them’ may suggest a reinforcement of traditional stereotypes. Therefore, Fürsich (2002) highlights the need for active systematic proposals to foster change and appeal to audiences to trans-code representations. Hence, “only self-reflective and critical approaches towards traditional-ritualistic reporting and production strategies can help to disentangle problematic media representations” (Fürsich, 2002, p. 57). Fürsich (2002) argues that new routines need to be developed in order to resolve the complex situation of portraying the unfamiliar. I aim to investigate whether or not an active strategy for representing Others is evident in the publications I have selected.

2.5 The Nature of Modern Journalism

Fürsich (2002) regards journalism as a textual system and a cultural practice rather than a profession. It is a “cultural practice, led by a community of professionals who use their cultural and interpretive authority to shape cultural memory (Zelizer, 1992 in Fürsich, 2002) and the production of knowledge in general” (Fürsich, 2002, p. 59). In an increasingly globalised environment, journalism is transforming as established frames of reference are being challenged. A break from traditional forms of journalism which focused on the nation-state and modernity allows for more complex framing of the Other. This emerging form of global journalism means that journalists are producing content for mass audiences on a global scale rather than simply for their local nation-state. Indeed, the publications I have selected are distributed to a wide range of countries outside of the nation of their origin. Travel journalists are customarily placed in direct contact with different cultures and people of different races, classes, and nationalities. Essentially, they cannot not represent Others and frame them in a certain manner. Fürsich (2002)

outlines some of the problems faced by contemporary travel writers. Firstly, they may be seen to lack objectivity, public relevance and editorial independence, although I have tried to argue that travel journalism is most certainly of public importance. Secondly, conventional travel accounts are normally *subjective* portrayals of personal experiences. Finally, travel journalists are inundated by public relations and advertising which jeopardizes their independence and integrity. Hence, Fürsich's (2002, p. 63) primary goal is to determine "how journalists under changing conditions of production within the globalizing media structure [can] develop representational strategies that do not obscure cultural complexities".

2.6 The Journalistic Problem of Representing the Other

As I have outlined in the preceding sections, transforming passive textual critiques of the Other into active strategies for change is a particularly complex operation. It is made even more multifaceted in an increasingly globalised context where the foreign has become more familiar. Fürsich (2002) outlines four main issues that guide her proposal of journalistic strategies of representing the Other.³⁵ Firstly, the power relations of representation work have to be made obvious. The work of Foucault draws attention to the inextricable link between knowledge and power as it is applied to the regulation of conduct in practice (Hall, 1997). For Foucault, knowledge that is linked to power has the authority of truth. Hence, it is vital that these relations of power be exposed and not concealed within the discursive representations of Others. Secondly, culture should be understood as dynamic as opposed to static within the global-local nexus. Thirdly, the Other should be accepted as actively creating and countering representations. Too often, cultural Others are depicted as passive objects in representations. The relationship between Others and travel journalists is not static, but rather it involves a two-way flow of representational practice. Finally, representations are constructions, thus the pursuit of real or authentic representations is inherently limited. Rather, the focus should lie with trying to uncover the complex interrelations of these representations.

³⁵ It must be noted that Fürsich's (2002) research is focused on visual anthropology – travel journalism in the form of television programs. Her ideas are, however, still applicable to the broader realm of tourism and travel journalism.

2.7 Strategies for Change

Fürsich (2002) urges travel journalists not to hide behind the safe realm of ‘objective reporting’. Rather, they should challenge the conventional modes of journalistic practice. Indeed, “most travel journalism pretends that the people in the host country are represented as they really’ are” (Fürsich, 2002, p. 79). Fürsich (2002) outlines three interrelated themes that constitute an active strategy for change.³⁶ Firstly, the production conditions of the programs (publications) must be shown. This applies more to television journalism, however, the principle can be adopted to suit the print media. The idea essentially involves a shift to more critical reporting – journalism that is not overly influenced by masked economic and political forces. Rather the focus should be on minimizing the extent to which travel journalism is constructed based on institutional factors. Secondly, a space should be provided for other voices. Alternative, dissident voices should be granted the opportunity to speak. Contemporary travel journalism should take into account the multifaceted nature of representing cultural Others and should allow space for alternative voices. As Fürsich (2002, p. 77) argues, “one of the most common suggestions to overcome the dominance of western media representations is to provide more space/time for other voices”. The third and final theme involves working towards a fluid rather than a static and fixed logic. Fürsich (2002) suggests juxtaposing traditional dichotomized images with fluid, hybrid images in order to destroy the monolithic totality of these images.

2.8 ‘Africa.com’ and the Commodification of Culture

In ‘Africa.com: The Self-Representation of Sub-Saharan Nations on the World Wide Web’ Fürsich and Robins (2002) perform a textual analysis of the government websites of 29 African countries in an attempt to show how they present a reflected identity mirroring Western interests. The nation is positioned as a ‘brand’ and the citizens are constructed as exotic Others who may be marketed to foreign investors. Fürsich and Robins (2002) argue that as countries try to find an identity in a postcolonial era, the importance of the nation-state in maintaining an imagined community is decreasing. Essentially, their study explores the discursive response of African countries in a postcolonial and globalised environment. Using a theoretical framework of

³⁶ Again, it must be noted that these themes strictly apply to television journalism.

nationalism as a discursive construct, they draw on Anderson's (1991) notion of imagined communities, however, Fürsich and Robins (2002) take it a step further suggesting that active image work is vital in a postmodern media-saturated setting.

2.8.1 Nation as Brand

Following colonialism, many African nations turned to the media as a tool for 'nation-building'. The media were seen as "instruments of cohesion" (Fürsich and Robins, 2002, p. 197). Today new media allows for more opportunities to construct a symbolic sphere of cohesion, where signifiers of nation such as flags and coats of arms are ubiquitous. As Fürsich and Robins (2002, pp 197) point out, "countries have branded themselves on these official Web sites; the slogans of both Botswana and Namibia are 'The Gem of Africa'". In addition to this, many of these countries present themselves as locations for tourism and foreign investment, rather than places where local citizens work and live. A fusion of national symbols is combined with a public relations approach to construct the idea of emerging nations and democracies in the postcolonial era. This style of self-representation leads to an ignorance of the true poverty and turmoil that many of these countries face. Cultural Others in this regard are presented as positive symbols, and are tied to the greater intention of increasing the flow of tourists and investment. In a highly competitive global market, these 'branded nations' compete with one another and ideas of Pan-African identity are rarely invoked.

The notion of a 'branded' nation plays an important role when exploring representations of cultural Others in travel journalism, particularly with regards to issues of ownership and control. In Fürsich and Robin's (2002) study many of the websites under investigation are authored by Western transnational organizations. This raises important questions regarding the ownership and control of the media representations and the extent of the influence these producers exude. I will be examining the institutional factors at play in the publications I have selected.

2.8.2 The Citizen as Other

As I have already mentioned above, the branding of a nation also includes the commodification of its inhabitants. Citizens are often displayed in stereotypical African representations as the exotic Other. The representations seldom accurately portray the range and variety of citizens living in a particular country, focusing instead on stereotypical depictions celebrating folklore, rural life and the past. These images are cast against a backdrop of nationalism as everyone in the images is supposedly striving to improve the country. These portrayals seem to target Western readers and do not cater for the citizens living in the actual country in question, hence categorically excluding internal tourism as is found in established economies. The preferred readers are Western investors, tourists and to some extent expatriates. Whilst this audience targeting may be the result of internet inaccessibility in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, “the limited potential or willingness to envision an African user as a potential reader directly aggravates the problematic representation of the citizens” (Fürsich and Robins, 2002, p.202). Cultural Others are portrayed as exotic and presented for consumption by non-African readers. In a Foucauldian sense, these representations favour the Western gaze. Ultimately, “the self-exoticizing discourse objectifies the citizens and reduces the complexities of living in sub-Saharan Africa” (Fürsich and Robins, 2002, p. 202).

2.8.3 Past and Present

Another important dimension in the arena of representation is the manner in which the texts are positioned between past and present. As Hobsbawn and Rangers (1989, in Fürsich and Robins, 2002) point out, the control over history and collective memory play a vital role as legitimizing instruments of a nation-state. The major historical marker on many of these websites is the acquisition of independence from imperial powers. This is ironic considering many of the websites are authored by Western companies (Fürsich and Robins, 2002). Essentially, instead of providing an outlet for vernacular communication, these websites fasten these African texts to Western systems of signification and representation. As Fürsich and Robins (2002, pp. 203-204) point out, “the text compels a subject position that supports the status quo. Identification can be

activated only by an acceptance of problematic colonial representations and mostly Western forms of knowledge production”. In the case of travel journalism, it will be vital to examine this relation to past and present. I will question whether or not the representations draw from modern realities or colonial legacy.

2.9 Applying the Work of Elfriede Fürsich

Fürsich’s work focuses explicitly on travel journalism and she is extensively concerned with the complexities and complications involved in critically analyzing travel narratives. I will be using Fürsich and Kavoori’s (2001) work on developing a framework for the analysis of travel journalism and will use and adapt their ideas concerning modernity, nationalism, postmodernity, cultural/media imperialism and identity formation. In addition to this, I will examine the selected publications as sites of ideological meaning-making. Fürsich’s (2002) concept of an active strategy for fostering change is vital to my research, as I intend to explore ways in which traditional journalistic practice can be challenged to disentangle problematic media representations. This will involve a consideration of Fürsich’s (2002) strategies for representing the Other. In ‘Africa.com’ Fürsich and Robins (2002) discuss the concept of nations as brands that are constructed and commodified to appeal to foreign investors and prospective tourists. This notion will also be incorporated into my analytical framework.

2.10 Conclusion

The amalgamation of the theories presented by Said (1978), Spurr (1993), Pratt (1992) and Elfriede Fürsich (2001 & 2002) provide a robust framework for the analysis of the selected magazines. Fürsich explores the manner in which travel journalism functions as a site for drawing borders between “us” and “them”. Her work is influenced by cultural studies, modernity, postmodernity and postcolonialism. This provides a theoretical perspective that is useful when merged with the foundational theories offered by Said, Spurr and Pratt. In addition to this Fürsich’s work provides a space for studying or applying strategies for change, rather than simply outlining the theoretical problems in a strictly academic critical discourse analysis. Through the work of Fürsich, I aim to understand how cultural Others are framed in travel journalism.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the research methodology to be used in my study. My research is based within a qualitative paradigm. This design allows me to acquire more in-depth descriptions and understandings of the nature of the representation of Africa in the selected texts (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). I will be carrying out a textual analysis, consisting of a discourse and a content analysis. The content and discourse analysis will cover an exploration of the “African criteria” already mentioned and will examine whether or not there are certain terms and expressions evident in the magazines that may be used to “brand” African nations within a particular framework (See Fürsich, chapter 2, section 2.8). In addition to this I will make use of the semiotic image analysis theory outlined in Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) text *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. For my discourse analysis, I will be drawing on the criteria for distinguishing discourses outlined by Ian Parker (1992) in *Discourse Dynamics*. I will also draw on the work of Norman Fairclough (1995 & 1999). Any form of discourse analysis does also have to involve (at least to some extent) the work of Michel Foucault. My research will be no different as both of the theorists I have already mentioned use Foucault as a guide when trying to theorize the complex notion of discourse. In addition to this, I will be using the theoretical work of Krippendorff (2004) as a guideline in order to conduct a content analysis of the feature articles in each of the magazines. This analysis will be aided by the use of content analysis software manufactured by *Nvivo*.

3.2 Sample Selection

I have selected a sample of three travel magazines based on their collective focus on travel, nature conservation, tourism and ecotourism and indigenous cultures. *Getaway* is a South African publication that is primarily targeted towards economically-stable families who wish to gain practical information regarding travel on the African continent (Getaway, 2008). It provides information with respect to the best travel routes, cuisine and accommodation available across a variety of African locations (*Getaway* also has a small section focusing on travel on other continents and generally a single country outside of Africa will be highlighted in each issue,

although this will not be of concern for my research). *Africa Geographic* is a South African publication which aims to promote knowledge of wildlife, conservation, ecotravel, indigenous cultures and the general environment (Borchert, 2008). The primary focus of the magazine is to shed light on the current political, cultural and economic challenges facing conservation in Africa. This provides a useful element in my research, as the focus of the publication strays away from an explicit focus on commercial travel options and explores the intricacies of the tourism industry. *Travel Africa* is published in England and aims to explore the continent's diverse attractions, wildlife and cultures (Travel Africa, 2008). It focuses specifically on the African continent unlike many other publications in England, such as *Wanderlust* or *The Travel Magazine*, which have a broader focus. *Travel Africa* also explores the ramifications of the growing tourism industry on indigenous African cultures.

I will conduct my research with a primary focus on the feature articles of the magazines. This will form the sample for my content analysis. Whilst I may make some mention of the advertisements and the general layout of the magazines, this will not be the focus of my study as it will be too broad an array of material to analyse in any kind of depth.

3.3 Discourse Defined

Initially a discourse analysis will be conducted. Discourses go beyond language (Parker, 1992). In a Foucauldian sense, “discourse conjoins language use as text and practice” (Deacon, 1991, p.147). For Foucault, discourses are not simply about the production of meaning, but rather, they are about the production of knowledge and the relations of power involved in discursive practices (cited from Hall, 1997). They do not merely describe the world, but bring it into sight and categorize it (Parker, 1992). Discourses define rules for certain ways of talking about a topic, “defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write, or conduct oneself” (Hall, 1997, p. 44). Similarly, they also limit and restrict other ways of talking or conducting oneself. According to Foucault (1974), nothing has meaning outside of discourse. It is the discourse that produces meaning, not the objects themselves. Subjects “did not and could not meaningfully exist outside specific discourses, i.e. outside the ways they were represented in discourse, produced in

knowledge and regulated by the discursive practices and disciplinary techniques of a particular society and time” (Hall, 1997, p. 47).

Power plays an important role within discourse analysis. Foucault saw knowledge as inextricably linked to relations of power as power was continually being applied to the regulation of social conduct in practice (Hall, 1997). Indeed, Deacon (1991, p. 150) argues that the major potential of discourse analysis lies in its “examination of how relations of structure and power are embedded in the forms of everyday language use”. Foucault (1972) saw knowledge as linked to power and this link allowed specific forms of knowledge to become accepted as ‘truth’, or ‘regimes of truth’. Thus, ‘truth’ is produced. If knowledge thought to be ‘true’ has some form of real effect, then it will gain the status of ‘genuine truth’. Structures of power and their relation to cultural representations is of vital importance to my research.

Also of relevance to my research is the question of subjects in discourse. Foucault (1972) argues that it is discourse that produces knowledge, not the subjects who are a part of it. The subject is produced in discourse and as such operates within the regimes of truth and discursive formations (Hall, 1997). In addition to this discourse produces a ‘place’ for the subject from which the knowledge and meaning of that particular discourse makes perfect sense. As Hall (1997, p. 56) points out, “all discourses...construct subject-positions, from which alone they make sense”. I will use the ideas expressed by Foucault and Hall when examining the target audiences of the selected publications and the way in which this audience is interpellated.

3.4 Discourse Analysis

Deacon (1991, p. 150) highlights that:

the critical scope and potential of discourse analysis resides most of all in its examination of how relations of structure and power are embedded in the forms of everyday language use, and thus how language contributes to the legitimization of existing social relations and hierarchies of authority and control.

My discourse analysis will be based primarily on the work of Parker (1992) and Foucault (1982). Foucault (1982) focused on discourse and defined it as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment”. Parker (1992) in *Discourse Dynamics* provides a useful set of guidelines or criteria for understanding and applying the work of Foucault. I will be making explicit use of the work of Foucault and Parker in order to fully understand the various discourses at play.

In addition to the theoretical ideas expressed by Foucault and Parker, I will be using the work of Norman Fairclough. For Fairclough, discourse is contingent on social structures (Deacon, 1991). He argues that relations of language and power are often concealed resulting in a general consensus of ignorance with regard to the exercise of power in social practices. He distinguishes between actual media texts or ‘communicative events’ and ‘orders of discourse’, which refers to the discursive practices of a community or its normal ways of using language – its networks of discursive types. According to Fairclough (1995) a discourse analysis involves an exploration of both of these categories. With regards to the communicative event, three dimensions must be examined. Initially, the text itself must be analysed in terms of its organization, grammar and vocabulary. Secondly, the text must be examined with regards to the discursive practices at work. According to Fairclough (1995) discursive practices can be either conventional, that is realized in homogenized forms with a secure sociocultural practice, or creative, which refers to heterogeneous texts with fluid and multiple sociocultural practices. The latter of these distinctions will be used to explore any evidence of an active strategy for change (see chapter 2 above). Thirdly, the sociocultural practice must be examined. This “may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: it may involve its more immediate situational context, the

wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and the culture” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 62). In addition to this, the orders of discourse must be examined as a domain of cultural power and hegemony. I will use Fairclough’s work as an additional guide for my discourse analysis, focusing on his systematic approach to the study of texts.

3.5 Image Analysis

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that images play an important role as forms of social communication. They suggest that an emphasis on written or verbal text (particularly in developed societies) has led to a devaluing of the importance of the image as a means of visual communication. In a literate culture, the “visual means of communication are rational expressions of cultural meaning, amenable to rational accounts and analysis” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 21). They attempt to develop a systematic theoretical framework for studying forms of visual representation. Through this framework, they aim to increase the general understanding of visual codes in order to make sense of an increasingly image-saturated society.

Images play a vital role in these magazines. Each of the publications contains a section offering photographic tips or information regarding photography. It will thus be vital to examine photographs and their relationships to the written text. In order to do this, images in the magazines will be placed into categories such as “animals, “places” and “people”. Subcategories which specify these main groupings into more precise clusters will also be used (“Big Five Animals” or “Travellers on Holiday” for example). The imagery will be explored in relation to the written text and in terms of the ideologies that it conveys (Africa’s “Big Five” could be seen as an iconographic African symbol which conveys the wild and untamed appeal of the continent, for example). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that the most prominent image aids in foregrounding the ideological meanings in a composite image. This notion is supported by Martin (2000, in Economou, 2006) who suggests that prominent images attempt to provoke some form of desired response from the audience. It is for this reason that I will examine the cover

images of each of the magazines in detail following the guidelines provided by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) in their semiotic Image Analysis Theory³⁷.

The cover image in each instance relates to (a) specific feature article(s) that appears in the body of the magazine and will normally reflect the most prominent or central narrative. Hence I will conduct a more in-depth analysis of these images. I have selected the theoretical framework offered by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) as they provide a conclusive image analysis theory which draws on linguistics and examines images on the basis of their context and ideological meanings. They also stress the importance of the image or sign maker in their theory, which is fitting for my research.

The analysis will include an examination of a number of characteristics of the image. These include, the angle at which the subject is portrayed, the use of colour, the focal length used, the choice of shot length, the use of vector lines, the framing of the image, the relationship between text and imagery, whether or not the image is transactive or non-transactive, the power relations expressed in the image, whether the images are 'offer' or 'demand' images, whether or not the image is transactional or non-transactional, the relationship between the different elements in the image and the manner in which specific aspects of the image are made more salient than others.³⁸

3.6 Content Analysis

Content analysis is very useful in determining an answer to the classic question 'who says what, to whom, why, how and with what effect' (Lasswell, 1960)³⁹. According to Krippendorff (2004)

³⁷Although Kress and van Leeuwen's image analysis theory draws examples primarily from contemporary Western cultures, their analytical framework may be effectively extended into non-Western arenas (see *Reading Images* pg. 4)

³⁸ See the glossary on pages 174-176 for explanations of the more specific of these terms.

³⁹Although this description is useful, researchers such as Krippendorff (2004) suggest that modern content analysis needs to go beyond this definition.

contemporary content analysis has three distinguishing characteristics. Firstly it is “*empirically grounded in method*, exploratory in process and predictive or inferential in intent” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. xvii). However, although it makes use of empirical methods, content analysis in a social studies arena goes beyond the work of natural scientists. Content analysts explore what texts mean to people, what they can enable and prevent and what information is communicated by them. Secondly, content analysis goes beyond traditional notions of symbols and contents (Krippendorff, 2004). Rapidly developing communication technologies and a changing global arena have resulted in an increased ‘awareness’ of communicative texts. Creators of media texts can no longer be seen as the sole source behind a message. As a result the realm of communicative texts is made more complex in a postmodern era and content analysts need to be aware of this. Thirdly, as a result of these changing circumstances, content analysis has been forced to develop a new methodology of its own that focuses and allows for researchers to plan, execute, reproduce and critically evaluate their analyses whatever the particular results (Krippendorff, 2004). This new methodology emerges in a context of increased media texts and the need to conduct more large scale content analyses. I will consider the three characteristics outlined by Krippendorff (2004) when conducting my content analysis.

A content analysis is useful as it is economical in terms of time and money, it is unobtrusive, it does not require a large research staff and it can be repeated should need be (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). According to Deacon (1991, p. 133),

The great advantage of content analysis is that it is *methodical*. It stipulates that all material within a chosen sample must be submitted to the same set of categories, which have been explicitly identified. To this extent it ensures a reasonable degree of reliability in the establishment of a pattern of media representation.

In addition to this it also helps the researcher select material other than that which would simply reinforce the original hypothesis.⁴⁰ Essentially content analysis ensures a measure of rigor and precision with respect to the conclusions that are drawn. According to Deacon (1991) quantitative methodology such as content analysis is compatible with more qualitative research methods such as discourse analysis.

⁴⁰ See section 3.7 for a discussion on observer bias.

There are, however, also disadvantages to using this approach. A common problem involves the question of validity and whether or not the criteria chosen for the content analysis is in fact an accurate measurement of the construct that is being studied (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Careful selection of the words and phrases to be used in the content analysis should eradicate this problem.

I will examine the magazines for the frequency of certain words and phrases and I will be using a conceptual rather than a relational analysis approach (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Essentially, I will select words and phrases derived from specific discursive formations that are relevant to my research question. This will include examining the construction of Africa as remote and wild by searching for words such as “remote”, “untouched” and “secluded”. I will also examine the ideology of Africa as mysterious and exotic through seeking out words such as “mystical”, “unknown” and “secret”. These discursive categories are not mutually exclusive and there may be areas of overlap. My central aim is to determine, from the frequency of the words and phrases that will be counted, what discourses of Africa are at play and how the African continent is framed in the selected publications⁴¹.

I will be drawing on the work of Klaus Krippendorff (2004) and his text entitled *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* for this section of my research. He delineates the conceptual foundation of content analysis and outlines a practical guide for designing content analyses. In addition to this I will be using *Nvivo* content analysis software to aid in my research. The content analysis will only be conducted using the feature articles of each of the magazines as these are the central focus of each issue and are readily available in an online digital format.

⁴¹ See Table A5 (Appendix A) for a complete list of the words searched for in the content analysis.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

The absence of an ethnographic component in my research results in fewer ethical issues that require consideration. I will however ensure that *specific* travel journalists are not targeted for critical discussion, but rather the notion of representation will be dealt with in a broader sense. In addition to this, ‘observer bias’ or ‘experimenter effect’ poses a threat to the validity of the conclusions that will be arrived at. Terre blanche and Durrheim (1999) define the experimenter effect as the researcher giving subtle clues about how they expect the subjects of a study to respond. Of course in the case of my research, the absence of an ethnographic component will eliminate any direct influential effect I might have on the research data. However, I am at risk of producing findings that support my personal hypothesis. I intend in this regard to make certain that my textual analysis is undertaken according to guidelines and criteria that will be derived from credible theoretical sources (see above). I will also ensure that the analysis of the individual publications is undertaken under the same conditions. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) refer to demand characteristics as certain features of the research setting that can have an impact on the findings. These demand characteristics will be considered and I will ensure that they are controlled.

3.8 Conclusion

Ultimately, I will be conducting a discourse and a content analysis of the selected magazines. A content analysis of the feature articles in each of the issues will yield information regarding the nature of the “branding” of African countries in travel journalism. The work of Klaus Krippendorff (2004) will be vital in this analysis, as will *Nvivo* content analysis software. The discourse analysis will draw on the theoretical work of Foucault (1972), Parker (1992) and Fairclough (1995). Foucault’s concepts of discourse, power and subject are invaluable components of my methodological framework. Parker’s (1992) ten criteria for distinguishing discourses will serve as a guideline for my discourse analysis whilst Fairclough’s systematic distinctions between communicative events and orders of discourse will also be used in order to strengthen my methodological structure. In addition to this, an analysis of the cover images of

each of the magazines will be carried out using the semiotic image analysis theory of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006).

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTENT ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the findings of the content analysis. Initially, I will elaborate on the process and techniques adopted for the content analysis highlighting the development and implementation of the method used. This will include details of the sampling scheme, the unitizing process, the recording and coding units selected and the process of reducing the data and drawing abductive inferences from the results⁴². Subsequently, I will examine any interesting findings and explore these in relation to my theoretical paradigm. The patterns, differences and trends within the texts will be discussed. In addition to this I will provide details of the indices used in order to draw reliable and valid inferences from the selected texts. Reliability and validity are of importance to all research designs. In this chapter, I will also include a discussion of the role that these research principles play in my study.

This chapter is primarily concerned with outlining the basic findings of my research. The discourse analysis summarized in chapter five explores these issues at greater length. It is also important to acknowledge that the language used in this chapter may at times be that of specific jargon related to the software used in order to conduct the analysis. In such instances, the glossary (on pages 173-175) contains an explanation of this terminology

4.2 Textual Content Analysis Design

The content analysis was conducted using all of the feature articles from the sampled magazines.⁴³ The articles were acquired from the magazine websites and converted into the appropriate format for analysis. The sample consisted of 383 articles from all three magazines – 77 from *Travel Africa*, 208 from *Getaway* and 98 from *Africa Geographic*. A representative sample of the available feature articles was created based on the calculated average word length of each article (see Table A1, Appendix A). This allowed for accurate comparative analysis to be

⁴² See glossary on pages 174-176 for definitions of these terms.

⁴³ Note that there were some limitations in this regard. See section 4.17 below.

conducted across the range of magazines, for example the differences in each magazine with regards to descriptions of Africa as impoverished. The biggest possible representative sample consisted of 77 articles from *Travel Africa*, 74 *Getaway* features and 61 from *Africa Geographic*. This smaller sample was extracted from the complete sample of 383 articles. The full sample was used in instances where comparative analysis between the three publications was unnecessary, for example, the comparison between positive and negative adjectives for all of the travel features. The data was imported into *Nvivo* and a number of analytical processes were conducted. Initially diagrammatical representations of the research questions were constructed in order to guide the development of appropriate coding categories (see Diagram A1, p. 177 Appendix A).

Each article was initially coded in *Nvivo* as a separate ‘case’⁴⁴. This allowed me to assign attributes to each article according to the categories of ‘type’ and ‘country’. The ‘Types of Articles’ attribute serves as a basic classification of the feature articles into predetermined categories based on common characteristics (see Table A2, p. 178, Appendix A). This facilitates easier handling of data and comparative analysis. The articles were also classified according to ‘countries’ on occasions in which the feature was based within a particular country (see Table A3, p. 179, Appendix A). This classification allows for the cross-tabulation of data in order to explore the way in which particular countries are represented in the magazines. Each of the attributes includes a category for ‘Not Applicable’ in order to ensure that the categorization in each case is exhaustive⁴⁵. The ‘Not Applicable’ category for the ‘Countries’ attribute is reserved for articles which do not have a specific country as the subject of the feature. For example, articles focusing on climate change or profile pieces consisting of interviews. With regards to the ‘Types of Articles’ attribute, the ‘Not Applicable’ classification is used for articles which do not fall into any of the predetermined categories⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁴⁵ In some of the findings presented below, the ‘Not Applicable’ category for ‘Types of Articles’ has been excluded as no articles were placed in this category.

⁴⁶ Note that the ‘Not Applicable’ category was not used for ‘Types of Articles’, however, it is still necessary to include the classification as it ensures that every measure was taken to create categories that are exhaustive.

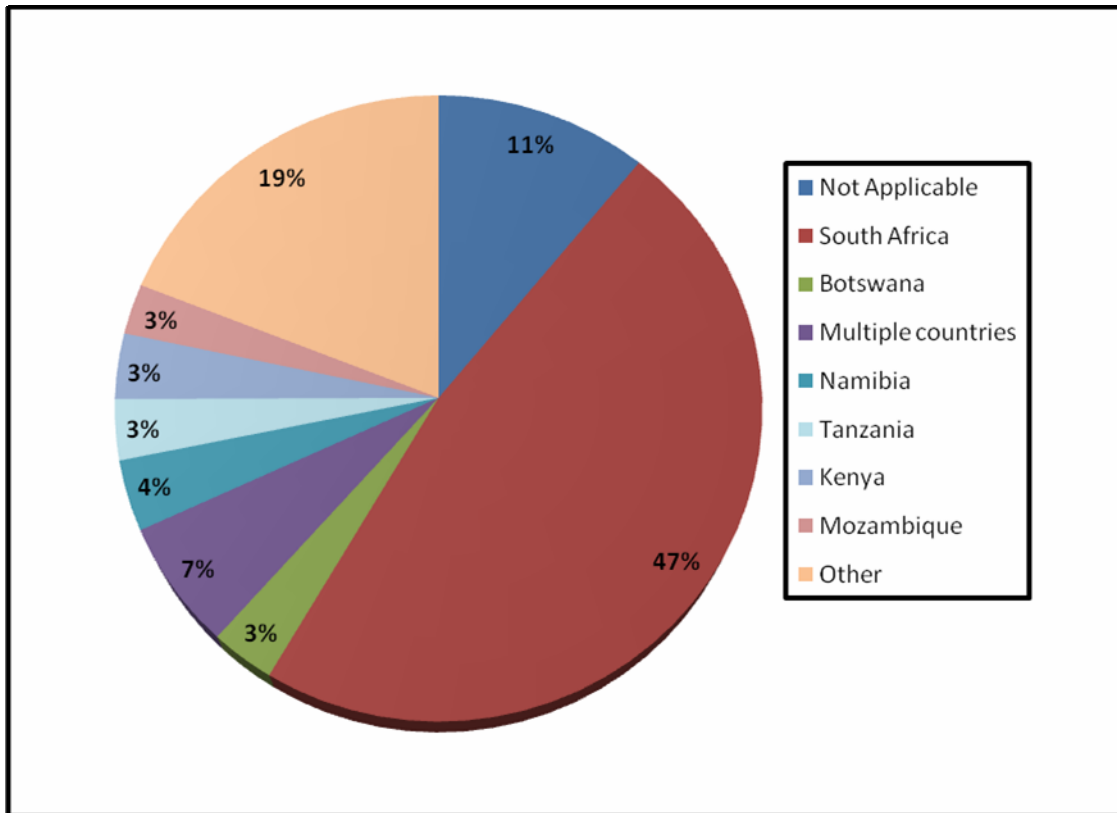
Following the basic organizing and classification of the texts, a number of text searches were developed. The criteria for these searches were based on my research questions and I aim to explore specific thematic concerns using text based constructions. These included searches for positive and negative descriptive adjectives, adjectives describing Africa as remote, adjectives describing Africa as exotic, descriptions related to the senses, the use of similes, descriptions of community and development, descriptions of size, the use of colloquial language, the use of words relating to crime/illegal activity/impoverishment, and a text search exploring the use of the words ‘I’, ‘we’ and ‘you’ in order to examine subject positions (see Table A5, p. 181-183, Appendix A, for details). The text searches made use of Boolean operators, similar to those used in many web search facilities⁴⁷ Inferences were then drawn from these constructions, the details of which will be discussed at length below.

4.3 Types of Countries

Table A4 (p. 180, Appendix A) portrays the distribution of the articles according to the country that the feature article content describes. It is evident that the vast majority of the articles are focused on South Africa, with 47 percent of the sample falling under this category. 11 percent of the articles are classified under ‘Not Applicable’, as they deal with issues not related to a specific country, whilst 7 percent can be found under the rubric of ‘Multiple Countries’ as they do not deal explicitly with a single country, for example, in a series entitled ‘Following the Outside Edge’, *Getaway* follows an expedition carried out by Kingsley Holgate as he and his team travel across many countries.

⁴⁷ See glossary on pages 174-176.

Graph 1: Distribution of Articles According to Country



Graph 1 shows a visual representation of the distribution of the articles according to the ‘Country’ attribute. I have selected only the most prominent countries for inclusion in the graph.⁴⁸ This graph clearly indicates the dominance of articles focused on South Africa, whilst Namibia is the second most popular country with only 4 percent of the overall sample. However, Table A4 (Appendix A) indicates that this overwhelming focus on South Africa as a subject country is predominantly witnessed in *Getaway* magazine with 77 percent of the representative sample falling under this category, compared to 21 percent in *Africa Geographic* and only 16 percent in *Travel Africa*. This indicates that *Getaway* targets predominantly South African people who are interested in holidaying in their own country. *Africa Geographic* and *Travel Africa* include a far greater spread of countries, some of which are uncommon travel destinations, such as São Tomé & Príncipe and The Gambia. *Africa Geographic* also indicates a tendency towards articles without a specific geographic focus, such as those concerned with conservation issues or global warming.

⁴⁸ Only the countries to which 10 or more articles can be attributed are included, the remainder of the articles were collectively placed under the ‘Other’ category.

4.4 Types of Articles

Table 1 (on page 72) shows a comparison of the types of articles that appear in each of the magazines. It is immediately apparent that the majority of the overall representative sample is comprised of personal travel features, with 92 out of the possible 213 articles in the sample falling into this category. *Africa Geographic* clearly shows a proclivity towards conservation-based articles, with 21 out of the total sample of 61 (34 percent) contained within this category and only 11 out of 61 (18 percent) in the personal travel narrative group. The *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* samples are predominately constituted by personal travel narratives and informative travel features. Graph 2 (on page 72) shows a visual representation of the distribution of the articles according to the predefined categories. The y-axis represents the number of articles and the x-axis indicates the magazine⁴⁹. It is significant to note that *Africa Geographic* represents a more even distribution of article types. This may represent a proclivity towards producing more balanced features in terms of content.

However, contextual elements need to be considered. Whilst *Getaway* does not contain any articles which strictly fall under the rubric of ‘conservation’, many of the *Getaway* articles do make mention of conservation initiatives, although, these are not the focus of the features and as such these articles cannot be placed strictly in the category of ‘Conservation’. *Africa Geographic* adopts a more scientific tone which ultimately places more emphasis on specific issues of concern, rather than conveying personal travel narratives. This objective tone and the somewhat more diverse distribution of the articles may function as an active strategy as defined by Fürsich (2002). The conventional norm of subjective personalized travel narratives is transformed into more objective and balanced discourse⁵⁰.

The majority of *Travel Africa*’s articles are placed within the personal travel narrative classification. The extensive use of personalized travel narratives raises important questions concerning authenticity. The magazine is published in England and as such the use of first person

⁴⁹ See glossary on pages 174-176 for definitions of y and x axes.

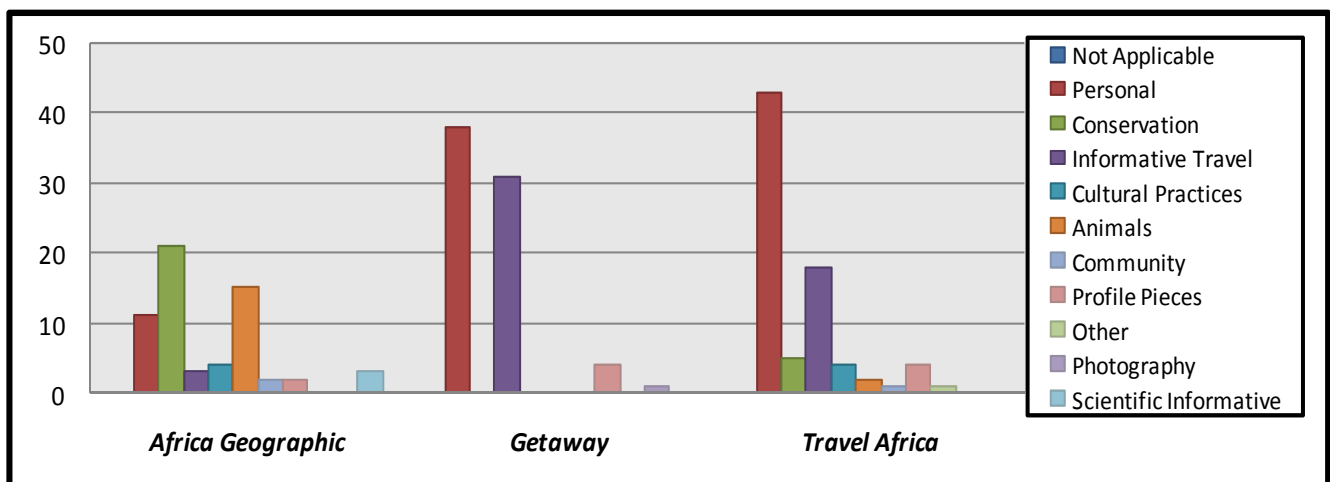
⁵⁰ Note that this is discussed further in chapter 5, section 5.4.10

travel narratives implies a sense of authenticity and authority over the subjects of the articles, which may be unjustified. Said (1978) describes the power that is bestowed upon the travel writer as the ‘enunciative capacity’ and within the realm of personalized travel narratives, this capacity allows for travel writers to write on behalf of cultures and people in statements that are often overly authoritative and simplistic in view of the subjects described.

Table 1: Comparative Table of Representative Sample and Article Types

	<i>Africa Geographic</i>	<i>Getaway</i>	<i>Travel Africa</i>	Total
Personal	11	38	43	92
Conservation	21	0	5	26
Informative Travel	3	31	18	52
Cultural Practices	4	0	4	8
Animals	15	0	2	17
Community	2	0	1	3
Profile Pieces	2	4	4	10
Photography	0	1	0	1
Scientific Informative	3	0	0	3
Other	0	0	1	1
Total	61	74	78	213

Graph 2: Comparison of Magazines According to Article Type



4.5 Negative and Positive Descriptive Adjectives

In order to gain an understanding of the style and nature of the writing in the selected texts, an initial query⁵¹ concerning positive and negative adjectives was conducted. This involved a basic text search for the occurrence and frequency of a selection of positive and negative descriptive adjectives (the results of which have been summarized in Graph 3, and in Table 2, 3, 4 and 5 on page 74 & 75). The selection process for the adjectives began with the initial extraction of positive and negative adjectives from the feature articles. A snowballing technique⁵² was then incorporated in order to expand the selection. This involved searching for synonyms of the extracted words until a substantial collection was acquired (see Table A5, 1.13 & 1.14, Appendix A for more details).

Graph 3 (on page 74) shows the comparison of positive and negative adjectives within the entire sample. It is evident that positive adjectives are used significantly more extensively than negative ones, with the overall distribution of sampled texts revealing a ratio between positive and negative adjective use of 93 percent to 7 percent respectively. As is to be expected the majority of the cases coded are those classified under the ‘personal travel narratives’ category (see Table 2). However, it is also evident from a comparison of the cases coded (see Table 2) and the references coded (Table 3) that positive adjectives not only appear in more articles than negative adjectives, but they occur more frequently as well. In Table 2, the total number of cases in which positive and negative adjectives are coded is 364 and 130 respectively. However the references coded reveal that 2474 references to positive adjectives were observed, whilst only 204 instances of negative adjectives were coded. This shows a ratio between cases and references coded of 1:6.8 for positive adjectives and 1:1.6 for negative adjectives, clearly indicating that there is a higher frequency of positive adjectives than negative adjectives.

In chapter 5, I have mentioned that lavish descriptions of Africa can reflect Spurr’s (1993) rhetorical modes of aestheticization and idealization. In this case, I am referring to Africa as it is

⁵¹ Note that the word ‘query’ may sometimes be used to refer to the text searches, as this is the term used in *Nvivo*.

⁵² See glossary on pages 174-176.

represented through eloquent and lavish descriptions creating an aesthetic that simultaneously portrays the continent as a desirable destination and reinforces stereotypical conceptions of Africa as a place of beauty. In many instances in which positive descriptive adjectives of Africa are used, the continent is idealized for its aesthetic beauty and the descriptions are embedded within discourses of commercial travel and tourism. There are elements of Pratt's (1992) anti-conquest here, as vivid and lavish descriptions are used in order to create an aesthetic which effectively conceals the reality of the African situation. In addition to this, the magazines rely on positive descriptions in order to make a profit. This institutional element is masked through these expressive descriptions.

Graph 3: Comparison of Cases Coded at Positive and Negative Adjectives

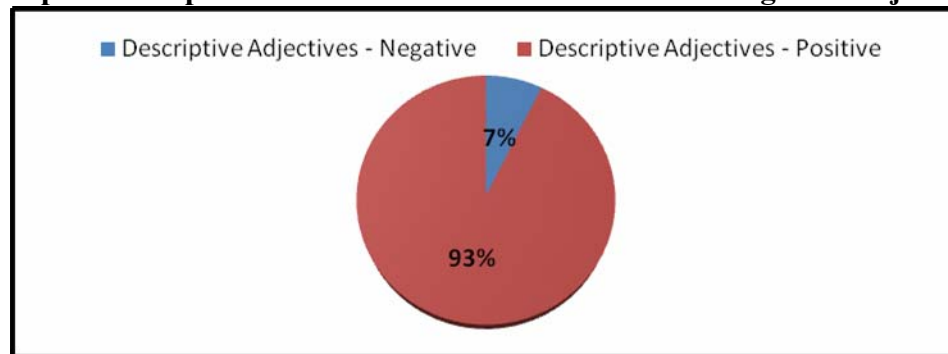


Table 2: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Descriptive Adjectives and Article Types

	Descriptive Adjectives - Negative	Descriptive Adjectives - Positive	Total
Personal	61	170	231
Informative Travel	21	96	117
Conservation	19	35	54
Cultural Practices	2	7	9
Profile Pieces	11	18	29
Community	1	6	7
Animals	11	25	36
Photography	1	3	4
Scientific Informative	2	3	5
Other	1	1	2
Total	130	364	494

Table 3: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Descriptive Adjectives and Article Types

	Descriptive Adjectives - Negative	Descriptive Adjectives - Positive	Total
Personal	97	1187	1284
Informative Travel	28	882	910
Conservation	28	174	202
Cultural Practices	3	22	25
Profile Pieces	22	85	107
Community	1	25	26
Animals	17	78	95
Other	1	3	4
Photography	2	10	12
Scientific Informative	5	8	13
Total	204	2474	2678

Table 4: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Descriptive Adjectives Compared with Magazine Type

	Descriptive Adjectives – Negative	Descriptive Adjectives - Positive	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	24	58	82
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	23	69	92
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	32	74	106
Total	79	201	280

Table 5: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Descriptive Adjectives Compared with Magazine Type

	Descriptive Adjectives – Negative	Descriptive Adjectives - Positive	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	33	247	280
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	30	591	621
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	54	650	704
Total	117	1488	1602

Table 4 and 5 (on page 75) support this finding. However, it is worth noting that *Africa Geographic* reveals a lower ratio of 1: 4.2, when comparing the cases and references coded in the representative sample.⁵³ This indicates that the magazine uses less descriptive adjectives than *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* as the frequency of observations is lower, although, the adjectives used are predominantly positive rather than negative. In some instances the positive adjectives selected may in fact be used in a negative fashion. For example, in volume 14, number 3, the journalist writes, “it cannot be pleasant for elephants to be isolated” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 72). In this instance, the word ‘pleasant’ is used to refer to a negative experience. This indicates that the observations coded may, in fact, overestimate the use of positive adjectives, however, for the most part, the words chosen do, in fact, reveal positive representations. *Africa Geographic* tends to make use of these adjectives to refer to animals or successful wildlife conservation endeavours. For example, “Africa’s cats are remarkably varied” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 6, p. 36). However, *Getaway* and *Travel Africa* place more emphasis on using the adjectives to refer to desirable tourist locations, for example, “beautiful beach” (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 11, p. 46) or “splendid camp site” (*Getaway*, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 95).

These findings yield contradictory inferences. Whilst they clearly indicate a tendency in all of the publications towards portraying Africa in a positive manner, they also support what I refer to in chapter 5 as a cultural packaging of Africa (Spurr, 1993 & Fürsich, 2002). Positive adjectives are used in order to discursively construct Africa as a commodity in a contemporary reworking of Said’s (1978) colonial discourse. It must, however, be acknowledged that a proliferation of positive adjectives constitutes a portrayal that will inevitably encourage optimistic perspectives regarding the African continent. This seems to be more true of *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* as they make use of positive adjectives more frequently and with more regular reference to people and places, rather than animals or specific wildlife initiatives. In addition to this, the tone and style of *Africa Geographic* is more formalized and hence there is less use of adjectives and descriptive language. Spurr (1993) discusses the rhetorical mode of surveillance and explores how writers can adopt a ‘privileged gaze’ in order to aestheticize the landscape. These positive

⁵³ Note that the average article size of *Africa Geographic* is larger than that of *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* (see Table A1, Appendix A). This should be considered when looking at ratios of cases coded to references.

adjectives may reflect a contemporary example of attributing specific sets of meaning onto African places and ultimately constructing the continent as a commercially available commodity for consumption by prospective travellers.

4.6 Negative Portrayals of Africa

In addition to the text search conducted for negative adjectives of Africa, text searches were also carried out using the constructs of ‘Africa as impoverished’, ‘crimes’ and ‘illegal activity’ (The details of these searches can be found in Table A5, 1.1, 1.10 & 1.15, Appendix A). The matrices below (Table 6 and 7) show the relationship between negative portrayals of Africa and the respective magazines. It is evident from these tables that these terms do not occur frequently. The number of cases coded reveals that the most common construct observed is ‘Africa as Impoverished’ with *Africa Geographic* indicating an occurrence of 37 cases and *Travel Africa* with a similar 34 cases. *Getaway* scores well below this with only 14 cases coded for this category. Whilst the incidence in *Travel Africa* and *Africa Geographic* indicate a considerable percentage of the representative sample coded at this thematic construct (44% and 61% respectively), the frequency of these terms is fairly low. *Africa Geographic* shows the highest frequency with 87 references coded at ‘Africa is Impoverished’, 39 in illegal activity and 11 in the category of ‘crime’. *Travel Africa* indicates similar figures, whilst *Getaway* falls well short of this, peaking at only 18 references under ‘Africa as Impoverished’. These are low frequencies when compared with those witnessed in the ‘Positive Adjectives’ text search.

Table 6: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Negative Portrayals of Africa Compared with Magazine Type

	Crimes	Illegal Activity	Africa as Impoverished	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	11	17	37	65
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	6	5	14	25
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	11	12	34	57
Total	28	34	85	147

Table 7: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Negative Portrayals of Africa Compared with Magazine Type

	Crimes	Illegal Activity	Africa as Impoverished	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	11	39	87	137
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	6	6	18	30
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	14	20	54	88
Total	31	65	159	255

These findings indicate that *Africa Geographic* deals with the issues of crime, illegal activity and Africa as an impoverished continent to a greater degree than the other publications. This is supported by the lower frequency of positive adjectives mentioned above. However, it must be noted that the frequency of positive adjectives for *Africa Geographic* far exceeds that of those coded under ‘Negative Portrayals’. *Getaway* displays a greater tendency towards positive representations. This may indicate the commercial paradigm within which the publication operates. Whilst *Africa Geographic* aims to disseminate information concerning conservation and contemporary issues on the African continent, *Getaway* targets prospective travelers in an attempt to encourage travel in Africa (predominantly South Africa). *Travel Africa* portrays an acknowledgment of negative issues surrounding Africa, as well as a tendency to promote African travel through commercial selling devices. In all three of the publications, an optimistic approach is adopted; the negative discourses of Africa are often refuted or possible solutions are offered.

Spurr (1993) explores the manner in which Africa is portrayed through an aesthetic of war, abjection and chaos. As indicated above, the magazines do not seem to represent a strong inclination towards portrayals of this nature. However, it should be noted that in many instances, specific tourist destinations are selected for coverage and the reality of the African situation is

concealed behind the world of leisure encompassed within touristic discourses. Articles which focus on the negative aspects of Africa are not regularly published, however, paradoxically, it is this lack of focus on the negative which contributes to discourses that are stereotypical. I am arguing that travel journalism operates on the other end of the spectrum as news with regard to stereotypical portrayals of the continent. Whilst the magazines stray away from features which focus on abjection and chaos, overly simplistic representations of Africa which are embedded within the commercial discourse of travel and tourism are equally damaging. In this scenario, it is *Africa Geographic* with the higher number of negative representations that, in fact, portrays the continent in a more balanced manner.

In *Getaway*, the most frequently occurring term in the ‘Africa as Impoverished’ search is ‘lack’, or ‘lacking’. This is often used in a context that does not reveal the impoverished or underprivileged nature of Africa, for example, a particular tourist chalet is described as having a “lack of privacy” (*Getaway*, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 88). This indicates that there may be instances in which such words are used in ways which do not suggest that Africa is impoverished. In addition to this, *Getaway* is sometimes critical of specific areas of accommodation and this form of critique may not be covered by the search criteria. Hence, the search criteria are not completely exhaustive in terms of generally describing *all* negative or critical representations contained within the texts and in some instances the words found are used in a way which does not imply that Africa is impoverished, but rather they imply something else. These constructs do yield some interesting finding nonetheless.

4.7 Africa as Remote and Exotic

As I have mentioned in my discourse analysis of the texts, Africa is often portrayed as mysterious and exotic. I have used two separate text searches in order to explore this. The first examines the occurrence and frequency of words related to the ‘remote and wild’ quality of the African continent, the second explores Africa as mysterious and exotic (see Table A5, 1.3 & 1.2, Appendix A).

Table 8: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Africa as Remote and Exotic Compared with Magazine Type

	Africa as Mysterious and Exotic	Africa as Remote and Wild	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	42	44	86
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	46	44	90
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	50	48	98
Total	138	136	274

Table 9: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Africa as Remote and Exotic Compared with Magazine Type

	Africa as Mysterious and Exotic	Africa as Remote and Wild	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	109	164	273
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	104	154	258
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	129	254	383
Total	342	572	914

Table 8 highlights these findings. On average the constructs mentioned above are observed in approximately 65% of the representative sample. Table 9 indicates that the frequency of these constructs is not significantly high, however, it does show that discourses of Africa as remote and wild are more prevalent than those of Africa as exotic and mysterious. It is interesting to note that this finding is particularly prevalent with regard to *Travel Africa*, which shows a reference coded count of 254, which is considerably higher than that of *Africa Geographic* or *Getaway*, which indicate reference coding scores of 163 and 154 respectively. This finding supports Spurr's (1993) notion that African places are codified into signifiers for the Western eye. In this case, the African continent is being portrayed as a remote and wild place in discursive constructions which aim to highlight the divide between 'us' and 'them'. It is more prevalent in the European-based magazine, which indicates that this process of aestheticization is used more regularly for Western travellers, perhaps because the unknown and unfamiliar African continent is more easily understood through Western signifiers. In addition to this, the portrayal of Africa as a remote and wild destination has more impact on Western tourists who are completely truncated from the African social condition by their pursuit of this perception.

The findings as a whole, however, seem to suggest that Africa is not constructed as a remote or exotic place to the same degree as may have been expected. This can represent an active strategy for change. Whilst there do still prove to be occurrences of Africa being represented in this fashion, the low frequency count is promising as it indicates a movement away from previous discursive constructions adopted by colonial writers. The advertisements in the magazines (which were not included in the content analysis) do, however, suggest a tendency towards stereotypical portrayals of Africa.

Table 10: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Africa as Remote and Exotic Compared with Article Type

	Africa as Mysterious and Exotic	Africa as Remote and Wild	Total
Personal	272	416	688
Informative Travel	165	209	374
Conservation	42	96	138
Cultural Practices	24	15	39
Profile Pieces	29	58	87
Community	2	15	17
Animals	47	106	153
Photography	1	18	19
Scientific Informative	8	9	17
Other	0	9	9
Total	590	951	1541

Table 10 shows the distribution of the constructs of ‘Africa as remote and wild’ and ‘Africa as exotic and mysterious’ compared to the different article types. Again, it is the personal travel accounts that indicate the highest prevalence of coded articles, with 416 under ‘Africa as Remote and Wild’ and 272 under ‘Africa as Mysterious and Exotic’. This is followed by informative travel accounts with 209 cases coded under ‘Africa as Remote and Wild’ and 165 under ‘Africa as Mysterious and Exotic’. It is worth paying closer attention to the animal category in this instance which indicates 106 references under the construct ‘Africa as Remote and Wild’. This is noticeably higher than the rest of the categories (excluding personal travel accounts and informative travel accounts). The reason for this may lie in the fact that Africa’s animals are depicted in travel journalism as wild and free as opposed to the confines of zoo or park animals in countries of the North. This ties in with an animal rights focus in, for example, Europe where

it is romanticized in travel accounts. These portrayals contribute to the discursive construction of Africa as a desirable travel location, and a packaging of African culture as animals become signifiers for the readers' consumption. Hence, representations of Africa as remote and exotic are used to attract tourists to a supposedly authentic African experience which is often the result of protracted negotiations of reserve boundaries, camp concessions and wildlife protection, whilst simultaneously creating a divide between 'us' and 'them'. This is paradoxical and also represents a reworking of Pratt's (1992) anti-conquest, as linguistic devices are being used to conceal neocolonial representations.

4.8 Similes

The similes search simply explores the use of the word 'like' in the magazines. I have attempted to eliminate contextual uses of the word which fall outside of the domain of similes (see Table A5, 1.22, Appendix A). This involved setting guidelines for the query which ruled out certain uses of the word 'like', such as 'I like', or 'if you like', in order to narrow down the search to uses of the word only in similes. Table 11 (on page 83) indicates the references coded at similes in comparison to the article types. The majority of the observations have been coded under personal travel narratives, whilst, conservation features indicate the second highest values. Context may offer an explanation in this case, as many of the articles make use of the word 'like' in a relational context outside to that of similes. For example, the phrase: "mountains like Kilimanjaro" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 13, No. 11, p. 38), or "On Rift Valley hillsides, thousands of Afro-montane plants will try, *like* the American pika, to migrate up away from the heat. And, like the pika, many will run out of mountain" (My emphasis, *Africa Geographic*, Vol. 13, No. 11, p. 42). In such instances, the text search does not successfully measure similes. It is therefore more appropriate to examine the articles classified as personal travel narratives, as the majority of these observations are similes.

Table 11: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Similes Compared with Article Type

	Similes
Personal	233
Informative Travel	57
Conservation	65
Cultural Practices	14
Profile Pieces	9
Community	9
Animals	39
Photography	0
Scientific Informative	2
Other	0
Total	428

Table 12: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Similes with Magazine Type

	Similes
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	124
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	124
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	180
Total	428

It is also worth noting that a higher number of instances are coded under the category of ‘animals’ than those observed in the other classifications. This may also reflect the context in which the word ‘like’ is used in these instances. For example in *Africa Geographic*, a journalist writes “Whales and dolphins, like all mammals, need to maintain a core body and brain temperature of around 37 degrees Celsius” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 11, p. 31).

Table 12 shows that there is no substantial difference between the three magazines in terms of the frequency of references to similes. However, it must be taken into account that the majority of the articles in *Getaway* and *Travel Africa* are categorized as personal travel narratives, whilst *Africa Geographic* is predominantly focused on conservation. This suggests that the observations

found in *Africa Geographic* are more likely to be those of a different contextual relation to those of similes (as I have explained above).

Hence, the majority of the uses of the word ‘like’ which appear in personal travel narratives reflect the use of descriptive similes. For example, the phrase: “thorns like silver slender icicles” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 35, p. 31). These similes embody what I will refer to as romanticized language, in which discursive constructions of Africa reflect aesthetically pleasing imagery in order to frame the continent through desirable representations. As is evident from the data in Table 11, the bulk of the references to the word ‘like’ are coded under personal travel narratives. This suggests that there is an excessive use of the descriptive similes in order to portray Africa through eloquent discursive constructions in narrative travel articles. Phrases such as “the moon...edged up into the desert sky and hung there like an ancient, worn coin” (*Getaway*, Vol. 19. No. 1, p. 84) aid in creating stereotypical travel discourse which constructs Africa within an idealized aesthetic.

4.9 Sensory Descriptions of Africa

I also conducted a text search exploring the use of descriptive adjectives related to the senses. This included searching for words related to touch, taste, hearing, smell and sight (colours)⁵⁴ in order to try to assess sensory representations of Africa (see Table A5, 1.8, 1.18, 1.19, 1.20 & 1.21, Appendix A).

Table 13: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Sensory Descriptions with Magazine Type

	Smell	Sound	Taste	Touch	Colour	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	31	30	3	26	50	140
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	28	36	5	49	71	189
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	24	48	12	38	67	189
Total	83	114	20	113	188	518

⁵⁴ Note that colour was used as a unit for measuring representations related to sight in order to narrow down the otherwise especially large category of descriptive adjectives of sight. The adjectives discussed in section 4.5 also serve to explore descriptions of sight.

Table 14: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Sensory Descriptions with Magazine Type

	Smell	Sound	Taste	Touch	Colour	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	64	103	5	57	285	514
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	59	133	10	137	537	876
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	54	190	22	87	433	786
Total	177	426	37	281	1255	2176

The matrices on page 84 (Table 13 & 14) show the results of this query. Table 13 indicates that the most commonly observed words in each magazine are those which describe colour, although *Africa Geographic* shows a lower number of cases coded at 50, compared to *Travel Africa*'s 67 and *Getaway*'s 71. The references coded indicated in Table 14 support this finding, as the frequency of references coded for *Africa Geographic* is 285. This shows a lower ratio of cases to references (1: 5.7) compared to *Travel Africa* (1: 6.5) and *Getaway* (1:7.6). In many instances, the use of words relating to colour in *Africa Geographic* are used in relation to animals, for example, red hartebeest or black rhino. However, the use of colour descriptions in *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* are used predominantly to aid in 'painting a picture' of a specific location, for example, "Elgin is a canvas of luminous verdancy, but on closer inspection you'll see splashes of red, yellow, pink, orange, crimson and white" (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 12, p. 75). *Africa Geographic* shows a decreased tendency towards using descriptive and eloquent language. These findings support this inclination.

All three of the magazines indicate a proclivity towards descriptions of sound⁵⁵, especially *Travel Africa* which shows a frequency of 190 references coded at this construct. *Africa Geographic* again indicates the lowest frequency count, supporting the notion that it adopts more of an objective and scientific approach, rather than an expressive descriptive one. None of the magazines indicate a significantly high case count or frequency count for 'taste' and the frequency measure for smell is low, although the average percentage of cases observed is worth mentioning. Approximately 40 percent of the overall sample shows the presence of a word relating to smell.

⁵⁵ It must be noted here that the list of words used in the text search for sound is greater than those used in the other searches, hence any comparative statements need to be considered in light of this.

Getaway indicates a higher frequency count for both colours and touch. This specifies that the publication makes use of more descriptive language. This sort of language can be used in order to appeal to the senses of the reader and through the use of descriptive linguistic techniques draw the reader into the aesthetically rich world of the travel narrative. Particular references to colour and touch create this form of interpellation and aid in naturalising it. Sensory descriptions also relate to discourses of the true or authentic Africa experience⁵⁶. The novelistic technique of attracting the reader through references to the senses is used on order to construct an aesthetic of Africa as raw and wild. This reflects what I have dubbed the ‘true or authentic African experience’. For example, in the phrase: “we have only paddled a mile or two when a set of giant, fetid-smelling jaws surges up from the creek bed, grabs the kayak and proceeds to turn the thing, and us, over.” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 34, pp. 58-60), the words ‘fetid-smelling’ and ‘surges’ are used in order to create a more powerful and wild aesthetic of Africa.

It is important to note that these categories are by no means completely mutually exclusive and there are elements of overlap. For example, the phrase, “thorn scrub that tears your limbs” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 38, p. 74) implies a relation to the sensation of touch or feeling, whereas the phrase, “they tear up the transaction slip” (*Getaway* Vol. 18, No. 8, p. 94) implies a sensation of an aural nature. Whilst there may be some overlapping of categories, the chosen search criteria have produced findings that are primarily related to sensory interpretations.

4.10 Descriptions of Size

Adjectives describing size were used in order to explore whether or not there was evidence of a preference for size in representations of Africa in travel journalism (see Table A5, 1.11 & 1.12. Appendix A). The results of these text searches are summarized in Table 15 and 16 and Graph 4 (on page 87). Graph 4 indicates that there tends to be a preference for descriptions of Africa as larger rather than smaller, as, on average, 73 percent of the references in the sample showed evidence of adjectives describing objects as ‘big’, compared to 27 percent describing objects as

⁵⁶ See section 5.2.1.1 in chapter 5 for further discussion.

‘small’. The frequency counts in Table 16 explore these findings further. Clearly there is a higher frequency of words relating to large descriptions than those adjectives describing small objects.

Graph 4: Comparison of References Coded at Positive and Negative Adjectives

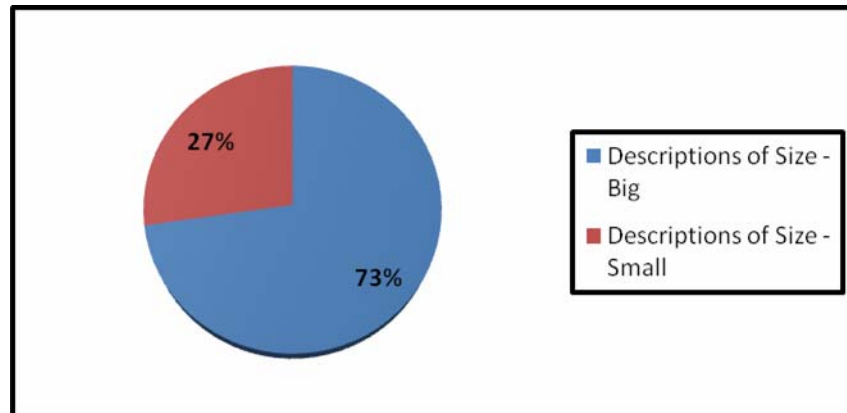


Table 15: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Descriptions of Size with Magazine Type

	Descriptions of Size - Big	Descriptions of Size - Small	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	58	49	107
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	73	53	126
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	75	50	125
Total	206	152	358

Table 16: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Descriptions of Size with Magazine Type

	Descriptions of Size - Big	Descriptions of Size - Small	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	495	208	703
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	504	172	676
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	581	202	783
Total	1580	582	2162

In *Africa Geographic*, descriptions of size can be attributed to small or big game reserves, animals, conservation teams, habitats, animal anatomy or a space of time (short-lived, for example). In *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*, these descriptions can refer to food, distance, small

children, accommodation sizes or descriptions of areas or specific geological features (for example, large hill, etc.). Whilst there does seem to be a proclivity towards descriptive adjectives related to large rather than small objects, these results cannot be extensively generalized as to suggest that Africa is undisputedly described as large rather than small, as the search criteria does not explicitly define the realm of size. For example, the word ‘little’ can be used to qualify a number of different nouns related to time, space or quantity (among others). These findings do, however, yield interesting results. It may be inferred that the tendency towards adjectives describing objects as big is a reflection of a general framing of African experiences within a ‘large’ paradigm of representation, regardless of whether or not these adjectives refer to size or not. Africa is essentially being idealized and aestheticized through linguistic representations. In addition to this, Africa’s natural places are symbolically portrayed as open and liberated.

4.11 Colloquial Language

Table 17: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Colloquial Language with Magazine Type

	Colloquial Language
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	7
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	45
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	10
Total	62

Table 18: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Colloquial Language with Magazine Type

	Colloquial Language
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	8
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	147
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	15
Total	170

Table 17 and 18 show a summary of the text search undertaken to examine the occurrence and frequency of colloquial or slang terminology (see Table A5, 1.7, Appendix A). It is immediately noticeable that *Getaway* makes far more extensive use of colloquial language and slang terminology, with 45 cases coded of the representative sample and a frequency of 147. This exceeds the coded cases and references of the other magazines by a substantial margin.

Typically, *Getaway* feature articles adopt a conversational and informal tone. This reflects a target market that is not intent on serious reading, but rather they wish to relate to the publication in more social terms, as a friendly advisor. The colloquial language search reflects this intention. However, this conversational tone does not imply that the publication cannot produce balanced portrayals of Africa. In volume 19, number 4, an article entitled ‘Meeting the Kings of Maputaland’ adopts a creative linguistic style which breaks the mold of traditional journalistic practices whilst still incorporating a multitude of colloquialisms and slang phrases. Rather, I merely aim to draw a distinction between the styles of writing in each of the magazines and highlight that *Getaway* is embedded more deeply in the realm of entertainment than the other two publications. This indicates that it does follow more commercial and consumerist practices, however, the potential to transcode conventional portrayals is always apparent.

These colloquialisms also create strong distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’, as the use of inclusive language interpellates a very specific audience. As a result Others are often described or spoken about from within the collective realm of an inclusive sect of white, contemporary South Africa, often denying Others the right to speak.⁵⁷ This is a classificatory system in which white South Africans are given a space in which to negotiate their transcultural identities whilst still clinging to elements of an Afrikaans heritage. This colloquial language use aids in creating specific national identities, however, these identities are embedded within white, South African culture and as such this reinforces the divide between ‘us’ and ‘them’ within South Africa.⁵⁸

4.12 Subject Positions

In order to assess the use of particular subject positions within the publications, the pronouns ‘I’, ‘we’, and ‘you’ were searched for (see Table A5, 1.23, 1.24, 1.25, Appendix A). The results are portrayed in Table 19-22 (on page 90 and 91). Table 19 indicates that the word ‘I’ occurs more regularly in *Travel Africa* than in the other publications, whilst the word ‘we’ is observed regularly in all three magazines. *Getaway* and *Travel Africa* make more extensive use of the word ‘you’. These findings are even more interesting when looked at in relation to Table 20. It is

⁵⁷ These ideas are explored by theorists such as Said (1978) and Spurr (1993). I also explore them further in section 5.3.2.1 below.

⁵⁸ The use of colloquial language also reflects a form of quintessential (South) African identity. This is discussed further in section 5.3.3.

clear that *Africa Geographic* shows a higher frequency of observations coded under ‘we’, whilst in *Getaway* a greater tendency towards use of the word ‘you’ is observed. *Travel Africa*’s high case coding for the word ‘I’ is supported by a high frequency count of 799.

The increased frequency of the word ‘I’ in *Travel Africa* indicates that many of the articles are written in the first person, hence ‘I’ is used in contexts such as “I am travelling by boat” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 34, p. 55). *Getaway* articles are often more advisory in nature and hence there is a higher frequency of the word ‘you’. For example, “If you feel adventurous”, or “you can self-cater” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 96). This use of the word also implies an empowerment of the readers, as they are placed into positions of authority within the narrative.

In *Africa Geographic* there is a greater tendency to use the word ‘we’. This is used primarily in two contexts. Either, it can refer in the collective to a team of travelers or a conservation team, for example, “we saw several porcupines” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 38), or it can be used to refer to the collective human race, for example, “we too depend upon the environment for our survival” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 10, p. 32).

Table 19: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Subject Positions with Magazine Type

	'I'	'we'	'you'	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	46	57	41	144
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	47	62	74	183
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	62	63	72	197
Total	155	182	187	524

Table 20: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Subject Positions with Magazine Type

	'I'	'we'	'you'	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	537	739	235	1511
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	439	556	922	1917
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	799	595	654	2048
Total	1775	1890	1811	5476

Table 21: Comparative Matrix – Cases Coded at Subject Positions with Article Type

	'I'	'we'	'you'	Total
Personal	151	164	172	487
Informative Travel	40	69	94	203
Conservation	26	37	26	89
Cultural Practices	7	5	5	17
Profile Pieces	16	17	17	50
Community	5	5	5	15
Animals	20	24	12	56
Photography	2	1	3	1
Scientific Informative	1	3	3	6
Other	1	0	0	7
Total	269	325	337	931

Table 22: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Subject Positions with Article Type

	'I'	'we'	'you'	Total
Personal	1687	1881	1684	5252
Informative Travel	203	280	1400	1883
Conservation	169	430	104	703
Cultural Practices	84	33	44	161
Profile Pieces	516	259	259	1034
Community	29	56	16	101
Animals	261	174	40	475
Photography	2	2	33	37
Scientific Informative	3	41	11	55
Other	11	0	0	11
Total	2965	3156	3591	9712

Table 21 and 22 outline the distribution of the cases and references coded under 'subject positions' in relation to the different article types. As is to be expected, personal travel narratives show the highest case count, followed by informative travel features. What is of significance, however, is the high frequency count of the word 'you' in informative travel features. This figure is considerably higher than those observed for 'I' and 'we'. In addition to this, there appears to be a high frequency count for the subject positions coded under 'Profile Pieces', particularly the word 'I' which indicates a frequency of 516. The 'Animals' category also shows a significant frequency count for the words 'we' and 'I', but a fairly low tally for the word 'you'.

The word ‘you’ in informative travel narratives reflects an approach which addresses the reader directly and informs them of possible travel activities, tips and trips that can be undertaken, etc. Hence, it is not surprising that there is a higher frequency of the word ‘you’ observed at this article type. It is predominantly *Getaway* and *Travel Africa* that make use of a direct interpellation of the reader.

However, *Travel Africa* in particular makes extensive use of the word ‘I’, as personal travel narratives are written in the first person. This raises question of authenticity and authority as travel writers are granted a privileged position from which to assess African places. In many instances, travel journalists following this format will construct themselves as the anti-heroes of the narrative.⁵⁹ They may be regarded as contemporary reincarnations of Pratt’s (1992) sentimental writer, who is the (anti-)hero of the anti-conquest. The profile pieces show a tendency towards using the word ‘I’ as they consist predominantly of interview-style features in which particular people are quoted. These quotes are normally in the first person.

4.13 Africa Development and Community

Table 23: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Community and Development with Article Type

	African Development	Community	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	38	28	66
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	34	21	55
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	36	30	66
Total	108	79	187

⁵⁹ See section 5.3.3

Table 24: Comparative Matrix – References Coded at Community and Development with Article Type

	African Development	Community	Total
<i>Africa Geographic</i> Representative Sample	167	96	263
<i>Getaway</i> Representative Sample	60	51	111
<i>Travel Africa</i> Representative Sample	90	94	184
Total	317	241	558

Table 23 indicates the references coded at ‘African Development’ and ‘Community’ in comparison to the representative sample (see Table A5, 1.4 & 1.9, Appendix A). *Getaway* shows a decreased number of cases coded under ‘Community’ in relation to the other magazines. The cases coded under ‘African Development’ are similar for all of the publications. However, Table 24 indicates that the references coded for *Africa Geographic* are more than those coded for *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*. In terms of African development, these references typically draw attention to community development initiatives, or sustainable development attained through tourism ventures, whilst references to community normally deal with the relationship between nature conservation and local communities. Whilst *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* also deal with these issues, the frequency of the findings is greater for *Africa Geographic*, particularly with regard to the ‘African Development’ construct.

This relates to discourses of nation-building, tourism and development discussed in the discourse analysis⁶⁰ and indicates that *Africa Geographic* portrays a higher proclivity to explore these issues in detail than the other publications. However, it must be acknowledged that in most cases, descriptions of community and progress are placed within the broader paradigm of tourism and conservation initiatives. This suggests that communities are predominantly regarded with respect to the role they can play within the contemporary constructions of the modern tourism industry.

Discourses of development also reveal an interventionist tendency in the magazines. As Spurr (1993) points out, the Western world is constructed as the model of democracy and economic

⁶⁰ See section 5.2.2.1 and 5.4.7

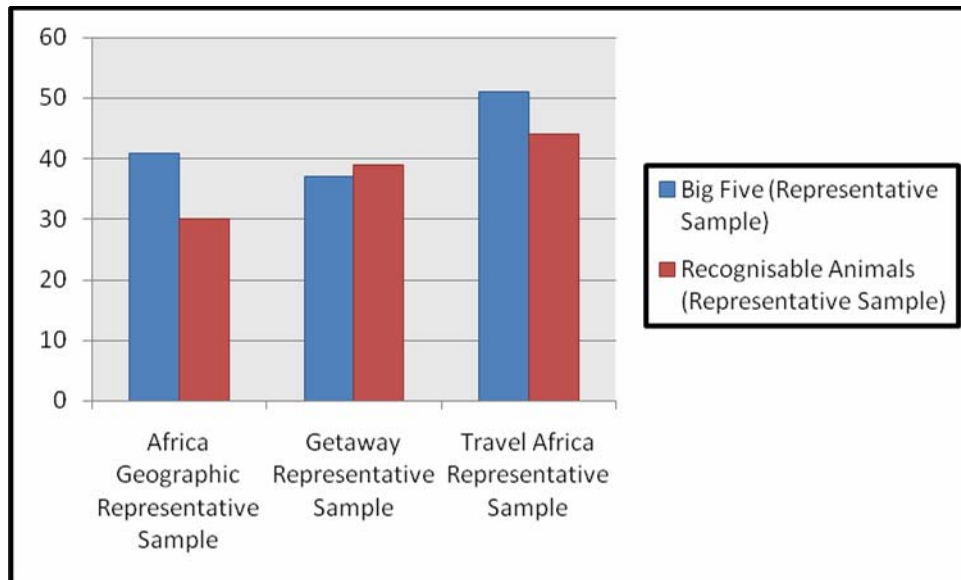
infrastructure that all developing nations must adhere to. *Africa Geographic* often contributes to this paradigm by suggesting possible solutions to problems that are described as inherently ‘African’ in nature. This constructs Africa as unnecessarily helpless and defenseless (Young, 2001), and dependent on Western aid for its survival.

4.14 African Animals

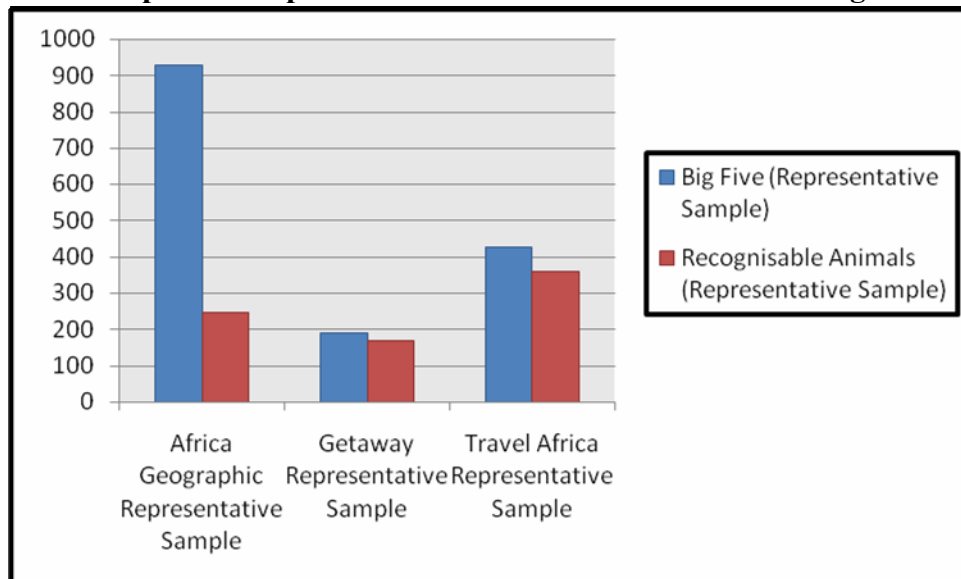
Graph 5 and 6 (on page 95) show the distribution of the text search findings for ‘Big Five Animals’ and ‘Recognisable Animals’ according to magazine types (see Table A5, 1.5 & 1.17, Appendix A). Graph 5 indicates that the highest number of cases coded fall under *Travel Africa* and the highest case coding altogether is under ‘Big Five Animals’ with a count of 51. *Africa Geographic* shows the next highest coding at ‘Big Five Animals’ and *Getaway*, the next highest at ‘Recognisable Animals’. However, the distribution of these constructs changes drastically when compared with the references coded. *Africa Geographic* shows a much higher frequency of ‘Big Five Animals’ and an especially high ratio of cases to references of 1: 22.7. The distribution of *Travel Africa* remains roughly the same whilst *Getaway* indicates a higher frequency of ‘Big Five Animals’ compared to ‘Recognisable Animals’. This is a turnaround when compared to the distribution of cases coded.

These findings reveal that Big Five animals are mentioned a great deal more in *Africa Geographic* than they are in the other magazines. *Getaway* shows the least frequency of mention of any animals, whilst *Travel Africa* has a fairly high frequency of both ‘Big Five Animals’ and ‘Recognizable African Animals’. *Africa Geographic* deals with animal and conservation issues in much greater detail than the other publications and this may serve as an explanation for the high frequency observed. However, the fact that this observation occurs in relation to Big Five animals reveals that there is a perpetuation of typical representations of Africa. The Big Five as a representation constitutes an ideologically stereotypical portrayal of Africa, as these animals have become symbols of the continent. As such, this high prevalence of mention of the Big Five may constitute a commercial framing or packaging of Africa, through the use of stereotypical, clichéd representations.

Graph 5: Comparison of Animal Cases in each Magazine



Graph 6: Comparison of Animal References in each Magazine



4.15 Visual Content Analysis

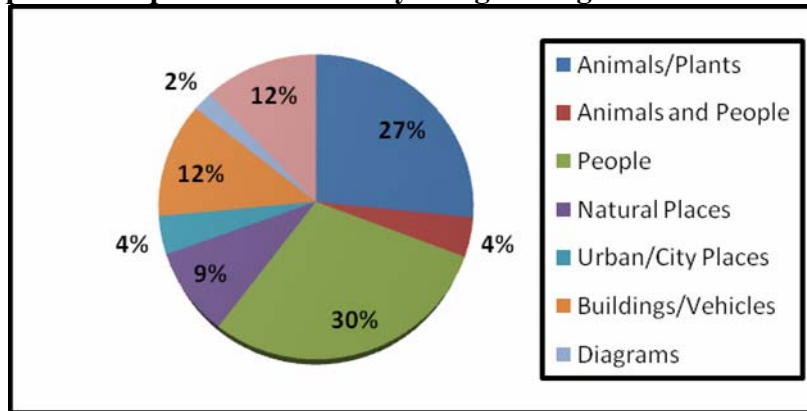
In addition to the textual content analysis, a content analysis of the images in the feature articles was also conducted. This consisted of categorizing the images according to specific mutually exclusive and exhaustive⁶¹ classifications based on content and image size (see Table A6, p. 184-186, Appendix A for a copy of the data sheet used to code the images). Additional researchers were used in the capturing of data. They were given explicit instruction and an information sheet containing all of the details of the specific categories (See Table A7, p. 187-191, Appendix A for a copy of the information sheet). The details of the findings were then calculated and the results analyzed.

4.15.1 Image Categories

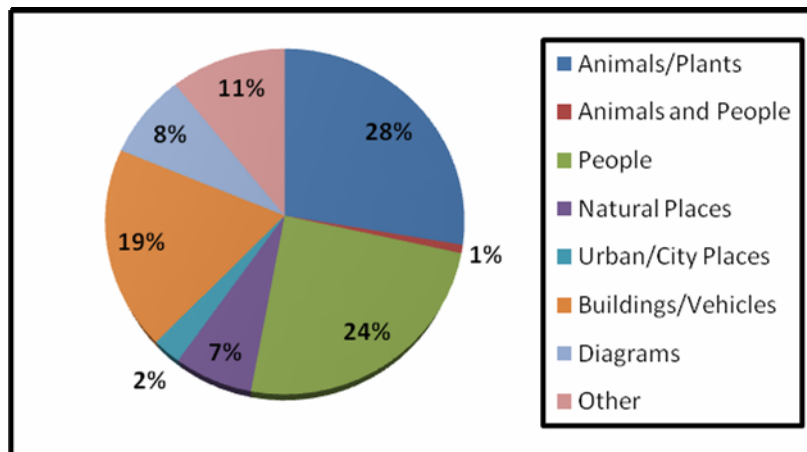
Graphs 7-9 (on page 97) show the distribution of the broad image categories used in the content analysis of the magazine visuals. These categories include ‘animals and plants’, ‘animals and people’, ‘natural places’, ‘urban places or cities’, ‘buildings or vehicles’, ‘diagrams’ and a category for ‘other’ (for details and the raw data results, see Table A6, p. 183-185 and A8-10, p. 192-194, Appendix A). Graph 7 indicates that of the 743 images coded in *Travel Africa*, 30 percent fall under the category of ‘People’ whilst the ‘Animals or Plants’ category constitutes 27 percent of the sample. It should be noted that 4 percent of the images fall between the two categories under the rubric ‘animals and people’. This indicates a fairly even divide between representations of people and that of animals. The ‘natural places’ category reveals a coding of 9 percent. This is higher than the 4 percent coded under ‘urban/city places’. However, a further 12 percent has been coded under the ‘buildings and vehicles’ classification and this may indicate a stronger proclivity towards representations that are more located within Western, civilized arenas. However, as I will mention in section 4.15.3 below, many of the images are tied to natural settings, and as such, this tendency is coupled with an inclination to portray modern, civilized representations in natural settings (for example, depictions of up-market tourist lodges).

⁶¹ Note that in order to attain completely mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories would have resulted in an unworkable number of classifications. This issue will be discussed further in section 4.17.

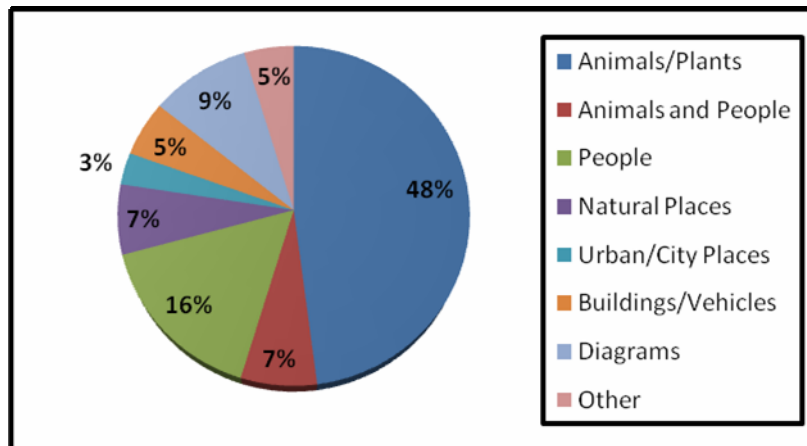
Graph 7: Comparison of Primary Image Categories in *Travel Africa*



Graph 8: Comparison of Primary Image Categories in *Getaway*



Graph 9: Comparison of Primary Image Categories in *Africa Geographic*



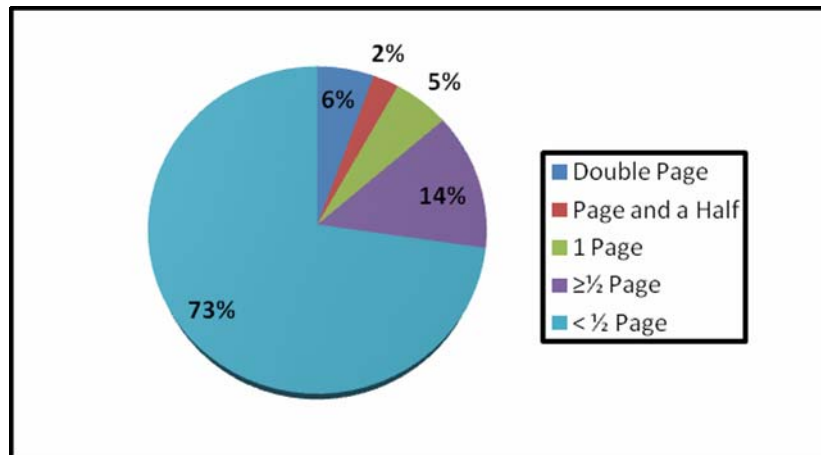
Similarly to *Travel Africa*, *Getaway* displays a fairly even distribution and a high coding under the ‘Animals or Plants’ category and the ‘People’ grouping, with 28 percent and 24 percent

falling into these classifications respectfully (see Graph 8). However, it should be noted that within the sub-categories for ‘Animals or Plants’, no strong distinction was made in the coding categories between marine images containing scuba divers and those without. Considering this constitutes the highest coded sub-category within the ‘Animals or Plants’ classification for *Getaway* (see Graph 12 below), it can be argued that there is a greater tendency in this magazine towards images of people. This is supported by a 19 percent coding under the ‘buildings or vehicles’ grouping. This class of images represents the presence of human life and thus there does seem to be more instances of people or people-related images in this publication. There is also a higher incidence of diagrams. The primary reason for this is the fact that *Getaway* makes extensive use of maps contained within regular ‘travel advisor’ sections in the feature articles. These maps have been grouped together with diagrams under this rubric. A higher incidence of maps also represents the practical and pragmatic style of the magazine.

Africa Geographic, however, shows a much higher incidence of representations of animals; with 48 percent of the 1020 coded images contained within this category (see Graph 9). The second highest frequency is attributed to the ‘people’ categorization at 16 percent of the sample. Similarly to *Getaway*, the magazine indicates a higher percentage of diagrams. In this case, the diagrams are often representations explaining a particular phenomenon such as global warming or the path of a particular ocean current. This reinforces *Africa Geographic*’s objective and scientific discourse.

4.15.2 Image Size

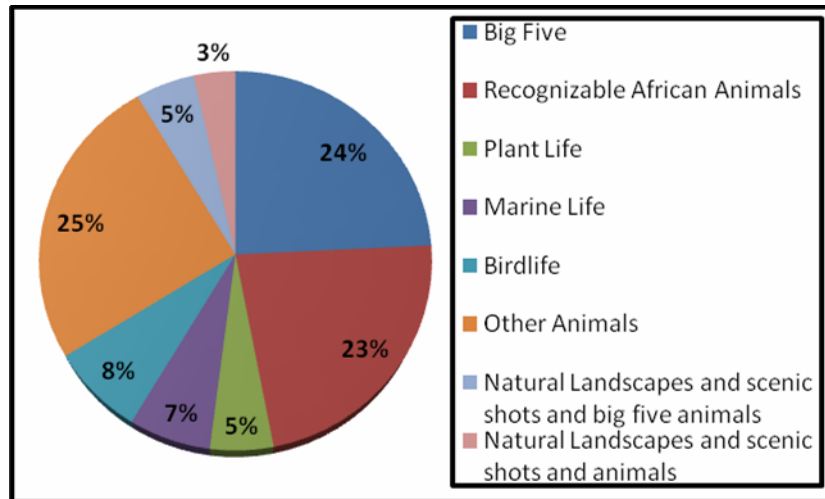
Graph 10: Comparison of Image Sizes in all Three Magazines



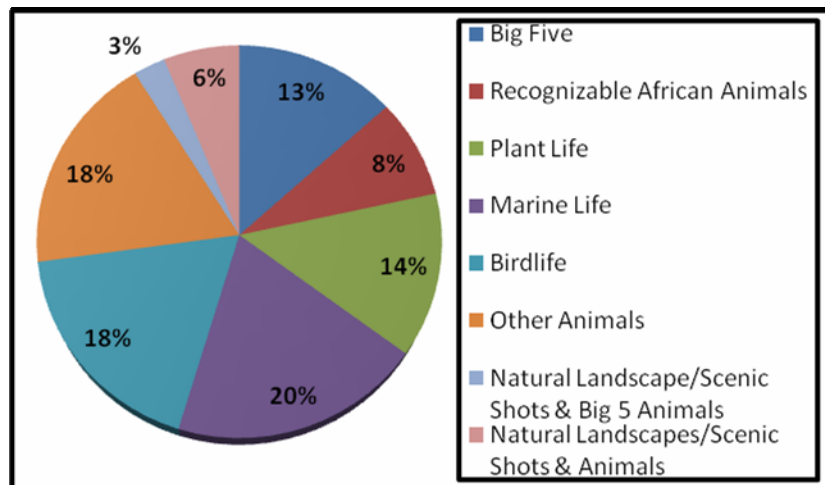
Graph 10 shows an overall comparison of the different image sizes used in the publications. There is an overwhelming proliferation of images that are smaller than half a page with 73 percent of the overall sample of 3955 images falling under this size category. The second most coded image size is that of visuals equal to, or bigger than half a page (these images are slightly smaller than a full page). This high frequency of smaller images results from a saturation of imagery in the magazine. Many smaller images are interspersed throughout the body of the text in an attempt to guide the reader through a particular reading path, as the visuals have more of a direct impact. They also indicate a desire to create publications that are striking and interesting as well as publications that are able to present a wealth of information through text and numerous images.

4.15.3 Animal Sub-categories

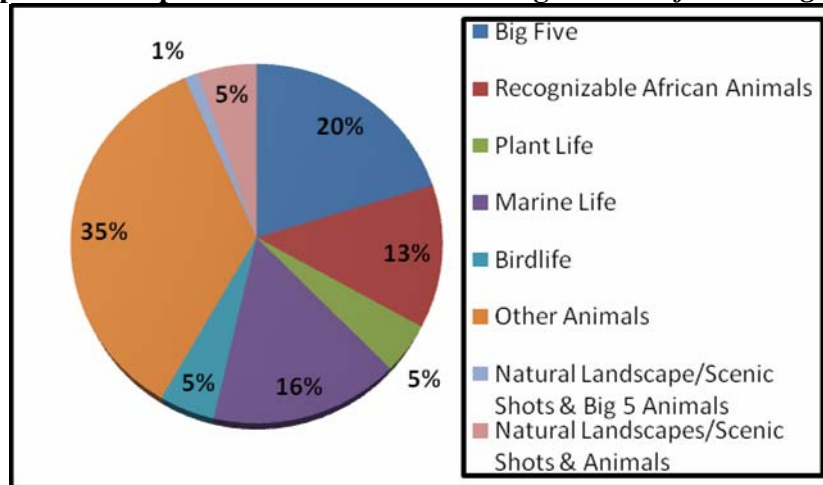
Graph 11: Comparison of Animal Sub-categories in *Travel Africa*



Graph 12: Comparison of Animal Sub-categories in *Getaway*



Graph 13: Comparison of Animal Sub-categories in *Africa Geographic*



Graphs 11-13 (on page 100) portray the distribution of the animal sub-categories in each magazine. *Travel Africa* indicates a fairly even distribution between ‘Big Five Animals’, ‘Recognizable African Animals’, and ‘Other Animals’, with percentages of 24, 23 and 25 respectively (see Graph 11). In addition to the 24 percent for ‘Big Five Animals’, 3 percent is coded at ‘Natural Landscape or Scenic Shots & Big Five Animals’. These images contain members of the big five portrayed in a broader natural setting. This effectively means that big five animals is the largest grouping and this portrays a proclivity towards stereotypical representations of typical African wildlife. This is supported by a high percentage of cases coded under the ‘Recognizable African Animals’ rubric, which consists of animals that are likely to be symbolic of the continent, such as giraffe or zebra. However, there is also a high incidence of animals which do not fall under the above mentioned categories and are hence coded under ‘Other Animals’. These animals may provide a balance to the stereotypical representations mentioned above, as they portray other animals that are native to the African continent.

Getaway interestingly reveals a much more varied distribution of animal imagery. The most frequently occurring images are those of marine life. As I have mentioned above, these representations are somewhat complicated by a lack of a strong distinction between people and animals in underwater photographs. They do, however, indicate that there is a preference for showcasing Africa’s (and in many instances South Africa’s) ocean environments. These are

often portrayed as desirable tourist destinations. The categories of 'Other Animals' and 'Birdlife' each constitute 18 percent of the sampled images. This indicates a tendency to move away from stereotypical imagery of Big Five animals and represent the continent's less familiar species. This is supported by a fairly low percentage for both 'Big Five Animals', at 13 percent (with 3 percent coded under 'Natural Landscapes or Scenic Shots and Big 5 Animals'), and 'Recognisable African Animals' at 8 percent. Plant life also displays a significant frequency of 14 percent. *Getaway* reveals a tendency to present images of animals that are unconventional and this constitutes an active strategy for change, as conventional travel imagery is transformed and creative representations which lie outside of stereotypical portrayals are favoured.

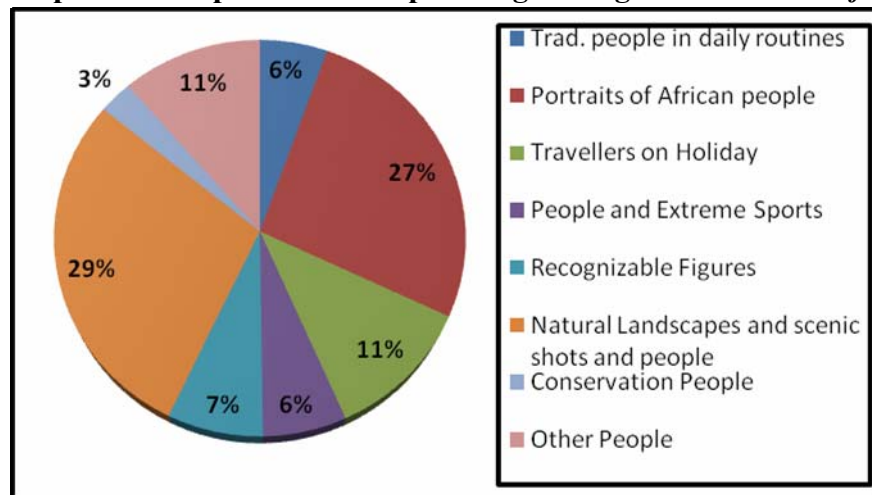
Africa Geographic shows a strong tendency towards photographs of animals categorized as 'Other', with 35 percent of the sample falling under this category. There is also a high frequency of Big Five animals, at 20 percent and a significant count of 'Recognisable African Animals' at 13 percent. *Africa Geographic*, in a similar fashion to *Getaway* indicates a significant frequency of photographs of marine life. However, it should be noted that in the case of *Africa Geographic* many of the articles focus on the conservation of marine life, rather than on the touristic experience.

4.15.4 People Sub-categories

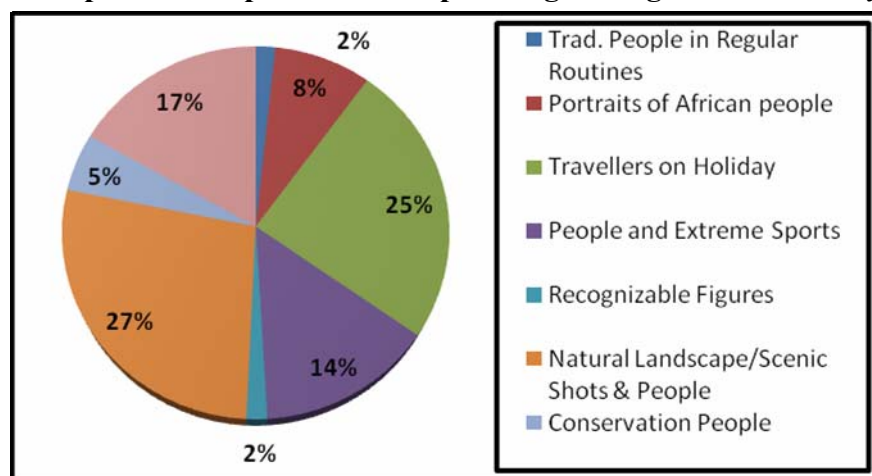
In addition to the sub-categories for people, I have also placed images of people into 8 distinct sub-groupings. The distribution of these categories in each of the magazines is displayed visually in Graphs 14-16 (on page 103). The 'Natural Landscapes or Scenic Shots and People' category contains all images in which people are the subjects of the photograph, however, they are placed within a broader natural background. *Travel Africa* shows a high number of cases coded under this sub-category, with 29 percent of the sample falling under this classification. In addition to this, 27 percent of the sample falls under the 'Portraits of African People' category. These portraits often portray African people in traditional attire. The combination of these reflects what Spurr (1993) refers to as naturalization, in which African people are inextricably tied to the natural environment and this situation itself is naturalized. However, it should be noted that

many of the images of people portrayed in natural landscapes will consist of travellers on holiday⁶². In addition to this, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that portrait images in which people are photographed whilst looking directly at the camera implies what they refer to as a ‘demand’ image, in which the viewer is forced to engage in a ‘relationship’ with the subject of the image. As such, these images do not constitute representations of oppression or subordination, as an element of equality is ‘demanded’. Whilst Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) may be right with regards to portrait imagery, only 6 percent of the images in *Travel Africa* consist of traditional or rural African people performing regular routines of some sort. As such, African people are often depicted as posing for photographs in an unnatural aestheticization.

Graph 14: Comparison of People Image Categories in *Travel Africa*

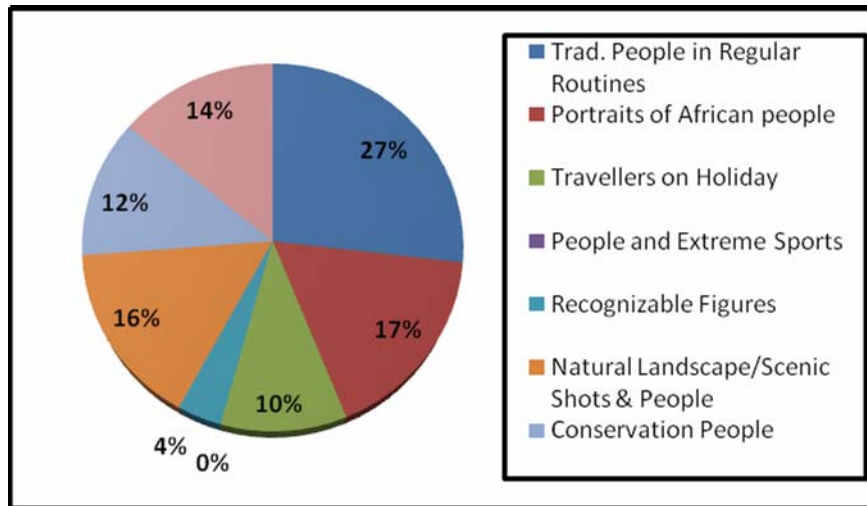


Graph 15: Comparison of People Image Categories in *Getaway*



⁶² Note that in instances where it is not explicitly clear that the people in the image are travellers on holiday, then they will not be placed under the ‘Travellers on Holiday’ category.

Graph 16: Comparison of People Image Categories in *Africa Geographic*



In cases in which traditional garments are worn an element of idealization is also evident. Hence, there are elements of naturalization, aestheticization and idealization operating within these images. In addition to these visuals, 11 percent constitute travelers on holiday and a further 6 percent are coded under ‘People and Extreme Sport’. This indicates a tendency towards showing representations of holiday activities.

Similarly to *Travel Africa*, *Getaway* represents elements of naturalization as 27 percent of the sample images are coded under the ‘Natural Landscapes or Scenic Shots and People’ category. This publication, however, indicates a strong tendency towards representations of travellers, with 25 percent of the images coded under ‘Travellers on Holiday’ and 14 percent under ‘People and Extreme Sports’. This represents a packaging of African places and cultures, as positive and alluring imagery is used to embed African places within the realm of touristic enjoyment and leisure. 8 percent is attributed to ‘Portraits of African People’ which is fairly low compared to the other publications. *Getaway* focuses more explicitly on representing travelers in Africa. However, whilst these representations may appear unbalanced or purely commercially driven, it must be acknowledged that many of the subjects of these images are, in fact, African travelers, albeit, not traditional or rural people.

Africa Geographic indicates a much more balanced spread of imagery. The highest coded category is that of ‘Traditional People in Regular Routines’ with 27 percent of the sample. This represents a more balanced portrayal of people as they are not being placed on offer in commercial representations, as is the case with the other publications. However, 17 percent of the sample falls under the category of ‘Portraits of African People’. *Africa Geographic* indicates a much higher count of images coded under ‘Conservation People’, as this is the primary focus of the magazine. The ‘Natural Landscapes or Scenic Shots and People’ and ‘Travellers on Holiday’ are coded at 16 and 10 percent respectfully. This graph indicates a much more even distribution of imagery and as such represents an active strategy for change.

4.15.5 Buildings

Images of tourist accommodation can consist of anything from images of lodges and chalets to visuals of converted farmhouses. These photographs are generally alluring and appealing as they emphasise the positive aesthetic aspects of the buildings. *Travel Africa* and *Getaway* show the highest count of images in this category with 41 and 227 respectfully. *Africa Geographic* shows a significantly lower tally with only 6 images coded under this category (see Graphs 7-9 above and Table A10, Appendix A). This highlights the more objective tone of the latter and the stronger focus on specific tourist locations witnessed in the former two magazines (particularly *Getaway*). In many instances, the exclusive and private nature of the locations is accentuated and they are constructed as romantic and attractive. This is particularly noticeable in *Getaway* as images such as this contribute to the representation of Africa as an aesthetically-constructed commodity.⁶³

It is also worth mentioning that *Africa Geographic* indicates a higher count of cases coded under the category ‘Traditional Buildings’. This category is reserved for buildings that are either classified as ruins, and as such have become tourist attractions, or buildings that are not

⁶³ Note that in section 5.2.1.2 focusing on *Travel Africa*, I have explored the manner in which Africa is *discursively* constructed as a commodity. In this instance I refer to the way in which *imagery* contributes to the commercialisation and packaging of African places.

considered modern by Western standards, for example, traditional buildings in a Berber or Dogon village. Whilst the count is not exponentially high (see Table A8, Appendix A), it does represent an increased tendency in *Africa Geographic* to portray imagery that is more rural and natural. This is supported by a low percentage of the images coded at 'Urban/City Places'⁶⁴. This contributes to the magazine's principles of respect for the natural world⁶⁵. However, an emphasis on the rural simultaneously accentuates the underdevelopment and remoteness of Africa. Spurr (1993) discusses the concept of a nostalgic cultural memory, in which the act of appropriation is intertwined with a natural spiritual return to an agrarian past. In this case, representations of traditional buildings may reflect this spiritual connection to the past.

4.15.6 Vehicles

Getaway indicates a much higher incidence of images in which vehicles are the subject (see Table A8, Appendix A). In most cases these photographs will consist of 4x4 vehicles. This finding is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it contributes to an aesthetic of Africa as wild and rugged, as a 4x4 vehicle is necessary for the tough terrain of the continent. This contributes to discourses of Africa as an object to be conquered, or a challenge to be accomplished. Secondly, the finding holds significance in relation to the institutional elements at play in the magazine. *Getaway* is published by Ramsay Son & Parker⁶⁶ who also publish the popular motoring magazine *Car*. The focus on vehicles is often a direct result of the publisher's other interests. Small vehicle reviews are frequently included in the 'Travel Advisor' box which appears at the end of many of the travel features. These condensed reviews sometimes make mention of more information that is available in a specific issue of *Car* magazine. These institutional factors point towards the larger capitalist system in which the publications operate and suggest that the commercial interests of the publishers drive, to some extent, the decisions regarding content.

⁶⁴ Note that *Getaway* also shows a low percentage for 'Urban/City Places', however, there is a much stronger focus on images of people in *Getaway* compared to *Africa Geographic*.

⁶⁵ See section 5.4.6 below.

⁶⁶ Note that Ramsay Son and Parker has since rebranded and is currently called RamsayMedia.

4.16 Reliability and Validity

Content analysts must be confident that their data “(a) have been generated with all conceivable precautions in place against known pollutants, distortions, and biases , intentional or accidental, and (b) mean the same thing for everyone who uses them” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 211). I have tried to ensure that my research design has reliability by including a detailed explanation of the coding categories used and the research process followed, thus allowing for reproducibility. A project journal was kept and all of the text search criteria have been clearly outlined in the appendix. A potential cause for concern may be the fact that I was the sole researcher for the bulk of the study. However, I have developed a robust theoretical framework which ensures that the inferences drawn are justified.

Validity refers to whether or not a measuring instrument “measures what its user claims it measures” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 313). The content analysis outlined above was conducted after extensive preparatory work in order to ensure that the units of analysis conformed to the structure of the research design and served to answer the research questions. In addition to this, the discourse analysis which follows explores this data in more detail and elaborates on the issues outlined above. There may be some concern raised with regards to what Krippendorff (2004) dubs ‘substantive obstacles’. This refers to the fact that the texts analyzed are not designed for analysis in the critical academic realm. However, I have made reference to the contexts in which the texts operate and I have outlined the way in which the texts function in these contexts with respect to my findings.

4.17 Limitations and Concerns

There are a number of methodological and conceptual concerns with regards to all content analyses. It is necessary to highlight the most pertinent of these with respect to my study. Firstly, reducing texts into simplistic coding categories may prove to be deterministic. The text searches chosen may represent indices that are not a true reflection of the hypotheses tested. As the data in my study is both rich and diverse, a simplification of that data into categories that are both

mutually exclusive and exhaustive is a difficult task. In instances in which it is noticeable that the coding categories do not adhere to these principles, I have attempted to explain the reasons for this as well as the consequences. In addition to this, the discourse analysis which follows aims to elaborate on the data which is outlined above.

In the case of the image analysis, many precautions were taken to ensure that the researchers involved were briefed regarding the specific coding categories chosen for the analysis. However, it remains that elements of the subjective cannot be eliminated entirely and there may have been instances in which a different researcher will have coded an image in a different classification. However, the sample size in this case is fairly extensive and as such I can be confident that the findings are a true reflection of the actual images found in the magazines.

In all content analyses, it must be acknowledged that the differences, patterns and trends mentioned above are ultimately a reflection of the *inferences drawn* in relation to the queries, and not the actual differences in the texts. These inferences have been drawn based on the theoretical framework for my research and as such they are valid, although, it must be noted that the inferences cannot be generalized inductively or deductively. Rather, a process of abductive reasoning is required in which specific instances are examined within their context and vast generalizations are avoided.

In addition to the issues mentioned above, some of the articles were not available online, and as such have not been included in the content analysis (a list of these articles can be found in Table A11, p. 195-196, Appendix A). It must also be noted that in some instances, paragraphs of text have been left out in the online versions of the *Travel Africa* articles. In most cases, however, the texts are complete.

4.18 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the basic patterns and trends evident in the three magazines through text queries based on predetermined search criteria. This includes an exploration of the types of articles in the magazines, the use of positive and negative adjectives, negative portrayals of Africa, representations of the continent as remote and exotic, use of descriptive similes, the use of sensory descriptions, descriptions of size, colloquial language use, the role of subject positions, development and community in Africa, the mention of African animals, and the imagery in the publications.

It is evident that *Africa Geographic* adopts a more objective and scientific tone and focuses more closely on features involving wildlife conservation, whilst the other two publications are more concerned with the commercial tourism and travel industry, making extensive use of personal travel narratives. However, this analysis requires further elaboration and more detailed description. The subsequent chapter examines these findings in more detail as well as linking these findings more strongly to the ideas expressed in my theoretical framework.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the findings of the discourse analysis will be outlined. I will explore the areas already examined in the content analysis and elaborate on them. This will include an examination of Africa as a cultural package, issues of authenticity, the conception of Africa as a discursively-constructed commodity, language use in the magazines, the role of subject positions, the reading path encouraged through linguistic techniques, the construction of (South) African identities, neocolonial tendencies and the relationship between tourism and travel journalism in each of the magazines. These ideas will be explored in relation to the theoretical paradigm already defined in chapter 1 and 2.

In addition to this, I will explore any evidence of what Fürsich (2002) calls an active strategy for change in which the traditional conventions of journalistic practice may be subverted or transformed and used in alternative ways. Each of the magazines will be looked at individually..

5.2 *Travel Africa* Magazine

As already mentioned *Travel Africa* is published in England and aims to explore the continent's diverse attractions, wildlife and cultures (*Travel Africa*, 2008). It focuses specifically on the African continent and explores the ramifications of the growing tourism industry on indigenous cultures. In addition to this the publication aims to create an increased awareness amongst Westerners of the potential benefits and rewards of travelling to Africa. As the publisher states "we started the magazine so that we could help you [prospective tourists] make informed decisions, giving you a broad and balanced look across the [African] continent" (*Travel Africa*, ed. 39, p. 3).

5.2.1 Africa as a Cultural Package

The portrayal of the African continent in *Travel Africa* is deeply ensnared within discourses of commercial travel, tourism and consumerism. The “remote” and “private” “paradise” (*Travel Africa*, ed. 34, pg. 2) that is Africa is often described in emotive and romanticized terms as aesthetically unrivalled and culturally rich. African landscapes are described as endless and it is a place steeped in tradition, heritage and ancestry. For example, in an article entitled “Africa Untamed: Gabon”, a journalist writes: “walking about, you have the strong sense of following in the footsteps of the ancients and feeling the world as they might have felt it: wild, dangerous, brim with daily astonishments and quite thrilling, uniquely raw” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 34, p. 61).⁶⁷ Ironically, this sense of openness and spiritual wealth is combined with luxury and opulence as up market accommodation is advertised as the ideal way to get closer to African life. Parker (1992) discusses how discourses can set up contrasting ways of speaking; an overlapping of the objects of specific discursive constructions can create contradictory or paradoxical scenarios. In this case, the discourse of Africa as wild, remote and rural is contrasted with a Western discourse of luxury and comfort. Consumerist, capitalist discourses depict African places and people as a parcel to be unwrapped and explored (Fürsich and Robins, 2002 & Spurr, 1993). Ubiquitous references to the ‘mysteries’ and ‘secrets’ of Africa are testament to this.

The “Safari” section is of particular importance in this regard. In each edition, the final segment covers aspects of practical travel from focus pieces on certain countries with specific itineraries to suit the travelers’ needs, to reviews, news regarding conservation and accommodation, and African recipes. Foreign culture is packaged for Western consumption as potential tourists can engage in African culture in as much depth as they desire, be it the purchase of African designed pillow cases or a taste of African cuisine. This is exemplified in Edition 40, one of the journalists writes: “If you want a family trip that’s big on adventure, culture and scenery, but only feel like dipping a toe outside the ‘comfort zone’ of Europe, then Morocco is the place for you” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 40, p. 91).

⁶⁷ In this example, the origins of this adventure discourse are alluded to. Parker (1992) discusses the importance of recognising and acknowledging the source of a particular discursive construction. In addition to this, this quote reflects a return to a nostalgic cultural memory; a return to a spiritual, traditional history (Spurr, 1993).

This cultural packaging may serve as evidence of a modern reworking of Pratt's (1992) anti-conquest. African landscapes, people and cultural products are being conveyed through the lens of consumerist Western representation. Discourses of aesthetic appeal and diverse cultures are used to mask the economic benefits and the process of transactional exchange that occurs in almost all circumstances involving tourism. The promotion and sale of pre-arranged and organized tourist packages to Africa will of course benefit the touring companies that sell these packages. Hence income is being generated from the sale of African resources. In addition to this an influx of foreign tourists to the continent as a result of these discourses of allure and appeal serves an imperialistic agenda. Often Africa is portrayed as something which can be owned by tourists. For example, a description in edition 40 reads: "You'll have the place completely to yourself" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 40 p. 87).

There is, however, sometimes an acknowledgement of this imperialistic agenda. In edition 37 of *Travel Africa* the publisher explores in his editorial the impact of the tourism industry on local cultures and questions "at what point does tourism erode the very things we come to witness, or does it help preserve them?" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 37, p. 5). He raises the issue of imperialism potentially arising out of an increase in the amount of tourists visiting Africa. In this instance, the illumination of such an issue may serve to raise awareness and curb the problem, however, in many other cases, the creation of discourses of appeal and allure only serve to increase imperialism.⁶⁸

In addition to this, contributors to the magazine have displayed an acknowledgment of this form of anti-conquest and on many occasions special attention is paid to whether or not the tourist resort in question subscribes to policies of sustainable community development in which local people benefit from the proceeds of tourism. In edition 40 for example, in an article entitled "Safari Superpower in Waiting?" the travel writer examines Tanzania's Cultural Tourism Program arguing that "it provides an enriching experience for tourists while injecting money directly into local communities, resulting in a positive cycle of protection of resources and

⁶⁸ See section 5.2.2.1 below.

increased income. It is the ultimate tourism product to provide a quality experience in an eminently sustainable manner” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 40, p. 41). This issue is dealt with in many other articles and may even at times form the core subject of a piece of writing.

5.2.1.1 The True/Authentic African Experience

“We lay with nothing between us and the wilderness but flimsy sheets of canvas, smelling the pungent odour of wild animals and listening to the panting of breath” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 37, pg. 65). Quotes such as this one are commonplace in *Travel Africa* and they embody what I will label representations of the ‘true’ or ‘authentic’ African experience. These are instances in which preconceived notions that derive from touristic understandings of what constitutes ‘real’ African experiences are underpinned and portrayed through eloquent and articulate descriptions or imagery that fulfils the same function. In some cases, game reserves and up market accommodation that cater to a mass market are depicted as artificial with a preference for African locations that are “beyond the almost zoo-like proximity of classic Big Five African safari with its lodges and facilities” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 41, p. 90).

These discourses of Africa as ‘wild’, ‘untamed’ and ‘vast’ find their origins in early colonial adventurers and explorers. In edition 34 for example, references are made to the worlds of Joseph Conrad and David Livingstone, in edition 37, in an article focusing on Botswana, references are made to the Bayei pioneers and the adventurous spirit associated with these early explorers.⁶⁹ In edition 41, Sir Ranulph Fiennes is exalted as a modern endurance adventurer who “ran seven marathons in seven consecutive days on seven different continents...[and] sawed off three of his own fingers and most of his thumb in his garden shed...after getting them frostbitten in the Arctic” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 41, p. 69). This description places him in the same league as well-known explorers of Africa’s wild places such as David Livingstone. Said (1978) argues that the creation of a discursive consistency promotes certain ways of seeing or understanding foreign

⁶⁹ The Bayei pioneers were amongst the first to travel by canoe (or *mokoro*) in the Okavango Delta watercourses. They moved away from the Mababe area to avoid slave-hunters from Angola and the Balozzi people from the upper Zambezi (African-Safari-Locations, n.d.).

cultures. The continuation or adaptation of discourses of the colonial past indicated above serves as a good example of this.

There is of course a distinctive contrast between the ‘authentic’ world that is frequently described and the reality of commercial travel which is often ‘packaged’ and ‘branded’ in a specific way in order to create the *feel* of a genuine African experience. Cultural villages such as those of the Dogon people in Mali or Shakaland in South Africa serve as excellent examples of what Spurr (1993) or Fürsich (2002) would call a ‘packaged’ or ‘branded’ cultural experience.⁷⁰ Rituals and ceremonies are often performed purely for the enjoyment of tourists who pay to temporarily ‘immerse’ themselves in foreign cultural practices.⁷¹ The ‘true’ African experience proves to be very limited, as an ‘authentic’ African experience is often included as part of a travel package and as such the journey is predetermined and innately inauthentic.

This is not to suggest, however, that a truly authentic African experience cannot be achieved. In edition 39, an article entitled ‘A Matter of Principles’, explores the story of Alexandre and Sonia Poussin who walked from one end of Africa to the other, without planning their trip. They did not pay for accommodation or eat in restaurants. Undoubtedly, this sort of journey would produce an authentic African experience as it involves living and surviving in Africa in conditions outside of the traditional touristic realm. This is favoured as is suggested in edition 40: “One of the true joys of self-drive is that you meet locals who are not jaded by tourism” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 40, p. 141). However, in this instance, there was no preconceived notion of what constitutes a ‘true’ African experience. This could only be determined in retrospect. As I have mentioned above, it is often the case that travel features only focus on a predetermined conception of what comprises an ‘authentic’ African experience.

⁷⁰ These cultural villages are covered in editions 40 and 35 respectively.

⁷¹ In Edition 40, in an article entitled ‘A Setting Sun?’ the focus is on the Dogon people of Mali. They perform a ceremonial dance known as a *Dama*. This is a final rite of passage for the deceased, yet in this case, the ceremony was performed purely for touristic consumption, as no one in the village had actually died. It must also be noted, however, that the travel journalist viewed this cultural packaging as a negative practice and accepted it only as it was allegedly a means to keep the traditional culture alive.

5.2.1.2 Africa as a Discursively-constructed Commodity

Typically, representations of the continent are rooted in discourses of travel and leisure. Africa is portrayed as a retreat, a place to escape the complacency and normality of urban Western life and experience the different, strange and sometimes bizarre world of the Other. As the publisher points out in edition 40, Africa serves a useful role in “removing our youngsters from the smog of our Western cities” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 40, pg. 7). Adjectives and adverbs are used extensively in order to describe African people and places in emotive and highly descriptive terms. Elaborate and eloquent expressions are often used, such as:

the sweeping savannah and the steep escarpments of the Masai Mara, the rolling horizon and the sublime silhouette of Mount Kenya’s summit on the Laikipia Plateau, the volcanic landscapes of Chyulu hills and their views of Kilimanjaro, and the blue hues of lovely Lake Naivasha (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 39, p. 63).

These descriptions develop an image of Africa as an appealing vast and untamed wilderness, with the ultimate goal of promoting travel to the continent. These descriptions are a part of what Spurr (1993) would dub an aestheticization in which Africa is portrayed in terms of commercial touristic consumption.

Within these discourses of travel and leisure, landscapes and local people are converted into signifiers for Western consumption (Spurr, 1993). Specific, unique selling points are accentuated in order to commodify the African continent for prospective travelers. These selling points may include discourses of wildlife or aesthetically pleasing scenery, for example, the use of phrases such as “a herd of giraffe galloping across the dusty pan against the backdrop of a scarlet and bronze sunset – a perfect African moment” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 37, p. 44). In this instance, assumptions are drawn regarding what constitutes a “perfect African moment”. The example highlights an instance of perfection which is rooted in discourses of Western consumerism, travel and leisure. This serves as a perfect example of what Spurr (1993) would dub “idealization”. Aesthetically, idealization occurs through representations of idyllic African moments. Each edition contains a section entitled ‘This is Africa’ which consists of an image stretching across a double page with a caption. These images typically embody stereotypes embedded in discourses of travel of what would constitute a true African moment. In the context of travel journalism, this

idealization serves to package and commodify African landscapes and people for consumption by potential travelers. Selling points may also include discourses of an authentic cultural interaction or experience, in phrases like:

for those of you who want to glimpse the spiritual nature of the African continent, don't look for it on safari; rather catch the gentle eyes of the village woman with a 10kg bucket of water on her head, toting a newborn on her back, who will take the time and the patience to greet you with the sincerity and warmth that convey a true sense of inner peace and joy (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 39, p. 31).

This example generalizes and classifies African people into a specific structured appearance and through a mode of deductive reasoning ascribes specific qualities such as hospitality to the entire scope of African cultures. These selling points can also consist of discourses of peace, serenity and the spiritual, for example, "alone in the car with the music and my thoughts, the outward journey turned inwards, until it took on a solitary, almost spiritual quality" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 37, p. 46). Once again, this is an example of idealization, although slightly different from the former example. In this instance it is the journey itself that is idealized.

Essentially, through a combination of linguistic apparatuses, narrative techniques and alluring imagery Africa is portrayed within the realm of Western consumerism and commodification. In what Said (1978) might refer to as discursive consistency, myths of the unfamiliar Other are perpetuated through discursive constructions underpinning the division between "us" and "them". However, I am not suggesting here that the publication subscribes to an ideology that is undisputedly and entirely imperialist and oppressive. Rather I wish to simply draw attention to the possibility of oppressive structures deriving from specific discursive constructions. In section 5.2.4 I will explore specific strategies that the magazine adopts in order to counteract these forms of discursive oppression.

5.2.2 Africa as Absence: the Intervention of the 'Civilized'

Spurr (1993) explores the manner in which cultures, people and landscapes are portrayed as absence metaphorically or through the rhetorical strategy of negation in an attempt to create a

void which can only be filled through intervention by ‘the civilized’ (Spurr, 1993). One *Travel Africa* journalist writes: “I battled through the packed streets, the heavy air humming with reggae rhythms and the stench of discarded rubbish and fish drying in the sun” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 35, p. 12). Descriptions such as this can be combined with others, like: “A man dressed in pristine white rushed past pushing a wheelbarrow transporting a freshly slaughtered sheep, its skin still glistened with blood” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 39, p. 84) to develop a portrayal of Africa as bizarre and even grotesque. This creates an image of negation for Western audiences; it is something against which they can compare their identity and lifestyle. In addition to this form of negation, landscapes are recurrently described as “vast” or “boundless”. These are adjectives which imply a sense of emptiness and openness. Spurr (1993) refers to this as ‘absence’. The key issue here is that Africa is frequently depicted as a place in need of or accessible to Western intervention.⁷² Young (2001) argues that sometimes representations of African people convey a sense of helplessness that is unjustified and overly simplified. The role of the Westerner in ‘improving’ or ‘developing’ African nations underpins this notion. In *Travel Africa*, an interventionist tendency is apparent in many of the feature articles, as Western standards of governance and democracy are depicted as the norm and the model that African countries should aspire to.

5.2.2.1 Discourses of Nation-building, Tourism and Development

Travel Africa focuses strongly on the possibility for nation-building and socio-economic development and improvement in Africa through effective management of the tourism sector. This inevitably involves encouraging European travelers to consider Africa as a potential tourist destination and eradicating previously-held misconceptions regarding African people and places. For example one of the contributors claims that “Africa has so many tales that never get told. By revealing the stories of ordinary Africans, by giving them a voice and a history, I hope to show that the continent is much more diverse and hopeful than the mainstream media would have us believe” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, 2006).

⁷² The concept of Western intervention is dealt with in a number of articles in *Travel Africa*. Some journalists suggest it is necessary whilst others fervently oppose it.

Whilst this focus on the inherent positivity and potential of the African continent bodes well for the publication's goal to portray Africa in a positive light there are nonetheless complexities and intricacies involved in such representations. Firstly, questions of authority must be raised. A European travel writer claiming to have some form of authority and knowledge regarding Africa and "ordinary Africans" is somewhat troubling. For example in edition 41, 'Khayelitsha' is misspelled as "Khayaletsha" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 41, p. 38). This raises concerns over the authority of the Western travel journalist.

Parker (1992) discusses the importance of subjects and the positions they are afforded in discourse analysis.⁷³ In *Travel Africa*, the subjects are often local people particularly tour guides or traditional villagers. In some instances these inhabitants are *spoken for* as the travel writer creates a depiction of them that is often embedded in discourses of the profoundly spiritual. For example, a tour guide in Edition 36 is described as "remain[ing] on the periphery of conversations, a man apart, a picture of solidarity and impenetrable dignity" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, p. 101). Such descriptions are reminiscent of those ascribed to black slaves during the era of the civilizing mission. Whilst the local people are offered positive character traits, they are undoubtedly still inferior to Western travelers, particularly in the case of tour guides who must essentially serve the travelers.

There are, however, also instances in which the local people are quoted directly and are afforded their *own* voice. In such scenarios, the direct quotations can serve one of two purposes. On the one hand, they can be a genuine attempt at granting local people a voice of their own. For example, the Emir of Nigeria is quoted as saying "'The West...must understand that democracy is not only as they see it. We in Africa need time to work it out in our own way'" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, p. 35). On the other hand, direct quotes can be used as a narrative technique for creating a sense of realism, often resulting in the subordination of the local people through onomatopoeically quoting them in broken English.⁷⁴

⁷³ This will be dealt with further in section 5.2.2.3

⁷⁴ See section 5.2.2.2 for further discussion on the role of tour guides in representations of African people.

Essentially, there are instances in which the travel journalists writing for *Travel Africa* are placed in a position of power and through a form of colonial discourse⁷⁵ have acquired an unwarranted authority over African people and places. Questions of authority are also raised in the ‘Safari’ section, as all travel books about Africa are published in England, and are created predominantly by English-born or educated authors.

Secondly, the publication is deeply embedded within discourses of commercial tourism and thus Africa is portrayed as a place of leisure and an appealing holiday destination. Whilst a focus on breaking down misconceptions and stereotypes of Africa and its inhabitants is contradictory to much of the coverage the continent receives in the mainstream media, Africa in this case is being sold as a tourism package. The main goal of the publication is the dissemination of travel knowledge regarding the African continent and thus overtly optimistic portrayals of Africa are to be expected to some degree. This strays away from the realities of African social, economic and cultural conditions.

5.2.2.2 Language as Negation

In a Western context, a well-established linguistic capability is representative of a developed and concrete culture (Spurr, 1993). Writers for *Travel Africa* often make use of direct speech as a linguistic technique to create an authentic representation and a compelling narrative. Local African inhabitants such as safari guides and villagers are often quoted in broken English. For example, in an article focusing on Ghana in Edition 35, the national motto is quoted as “‘No hurry in life, this be Ghana’” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 35, p.12). This linguistic tool is repeated in Edition 36 in an article entitled “Sierra Leone: Paradise Reborn” when quotes from the local people are written onomatopoeically, for example, “we broke de world record” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, p. 86). In this case the imperialistic agenda is accentuated as oppressive colonial names like “Tommy Campbell” and “Darlington Davies” are described as “quaint” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, p. 86). Through the discursive framing of local cultures in a contrast to literate and formally-educated Western tourists, indigenous African people are portrayed as inferior and subordinate.

⁷⁵ Colonial discourse in this context refers to a modern discourse of oppression and subordination.

Their lack of knowledge of the English language is described as ‘quirky’ and ‘quaint’ as modernization, and indeed postmodernity, positions them in a state of flux, caught between traditional culture and heritage and the need to become modernized in an increasingly globalised world. Spurr (1993) discusses the paradox of colonial discourse; that the natives were reviled for their non-Western otherness, yet attempts to imitate the ways of the West were ridiculed. These examples serve as evidence of a modern reworking of colonial discourse and they reveal that the paradox Spurr (1993) discusses is still firmly in place.

5.2.2.3 Subject Positions

Spurr’s (1992) discussion of the negation of language is influenced by Foucault’s (1972) work on subject positions. He argues that subjects in discourse are produced in two different *senses*. Firstly, discourses create subjects that personify the types of knowledge that the discourse produces. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, discourses produce a *place* for subjects from which that particular knowledge and meaning makes the most sense (Hall, 1997). In *Travel Africa*, audiences are positioned as prospective travelers with an interest in nature and the outdoors. The publication targets older European, affluent families and individuals, with some free time to dedicate to traveling. For the readers, Africa is portrayed as an object to be conquered, explored or experienced. The possibility for this and the availability of an ‘African experience’ is provided through discourses of travel and tourism. Power is afforded to the travel journalists who are often the subjects of their own discourses and this power is in turn afforded to the readers of the publication, as they gain knowledge of and accessibility to the African continent.

The subjects of these representations are often African people. As discussed in section 5.2.2.1 and section 5.2.2.2, African people are often denied the right to speak.⁷⁶ They are regularly confined to a subject position of silence and subordination. There are, however, many instances in which African inhabitants are praised for their admirable character traits. In some cases, this is a genuine admiration whilst in others it is simply a stereotypical reflection of what constitutes the

⁷⁶ This notion is explored by many postcolonial theorists such as Said (1978) and Young (2001)

African character. This links well with Spurr's (1993) concept of classification. He argues that African people are placed into categories, often pejoratively through the use of a condescending tone in descriptions of these people. They are compared to a Western standard which is regarded as the norm.

5.2.3 Imagery

The spread of cover images seen in *Travel Africa* range from imagery of wildlife to photographs of traditional Africans to images of travellers in touristic settings. Typically, Africa is portrayed as a commodity, and imagery is used to interpellate the viewer. In edition 41, the cover image consists of a Masai warrior standing on the open plains watching a hot-air balloon in the distance. The Masai man holds a spear and is dressed in traditional attire. The photograph is a long shot taken from behind the warrior as he watches the hot-air balloon on the horizon. The Masai man and the hot-air balloon are made salient through framing by the text and the focus of the image. This represents a stereotypical portrayal of African culture. The Masai of Kenya are a well recognized African cultural group and the open plains of Kenya or the Serengeti are familiar signifiers of Africa. A slightly low-angled shot emphasises the size of the warrior, however, it also accentuates the height of the balloon. In this case the touristic realm of commercial travel is combined with the sphere of rural, traditional life. There is a literal division between the two, provided by the line of the horizon which separates the balloon and the Masai man. The height of the balloon places it in a superordinate position, whilst the Masai warrior is reduced to an object of the Western gaze. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue that the top and bottom of an image or page can metaphorically represent what they call the 'ideal' and the 'real'. In this case, tourism is being hailed as the ideal, whilst the traditional world of the Masai is referred to as 'the real'. This implies that Africa and its people are essentially objects of the Western gaze; an African reality is the subject of Western observation in ideal conditions.

In addition to this, photographs regularly portray an aesthetic of appeal and allure. The cover image of edition 37 shows a woman performing a cartwheel in the Namib Desert. It is a long shot, although the dunes in the background are not in focus. The colours in the image are natural

(orange, yellow, brown) and the woman in the photograph is salient as she is in the centre of the shot and the focus is at its sharpest where she appears on the image. Her action idealizes travel and adventure and she is symbolic of the freedom and liberty that is attached to this aesthetic of Africa. Whilst this visual represents an ‘offer’ image⁷⁷, the photograph represents an aesthetic of allure and appeal; viewers wish to share in her freedom and joy. This is supported by the title of the article “Explore Namibia Feel the Freedom!”. There are many other instances in *Travel Africa*, in which an aesthetic of allure and appeal is used to attract viewers, for example, the images of wildlife in editions 40, 39 and 36.

Edition 34 portrays an image of David Attenborough smiling and looking at the camera as he kneels down in thick vegetation. In this case, the image is a ‘demand’ shot⁷⁸ and the viewer is forced to engage in some kind of temporary relationship with the image. It is a medium shot and can be considered a portrait as Attenborough’s face is the most salient participant⁷⁹. His smile is indexical of happiness and the audience is engaged in a welcoming manner. A comparison of this with the image in edition 41 reveals that the representation of the traditional Masai warrior does not engage the audience in such a relationship, but rather the subject is on ‘offer’ for whatever interpretation the viewer feels necessary. In addition to this, in edition 35 an image of a traditional Zulu man shows the subject in a non-transactive⁸⁰ representation in which he is looking at something to the right of the camera. This indicates that the magazine has a proclivity towards detached images of African people, whilst recognizable Western figures are portrayed on equal terms with regards to the photographic qualities of the images.

In addition to this, David Attenborough can be considered a modern naturalist, similar to those described by Pratt (1992), and he is a signifier of Western culture. In a modern reworking of Pratt’s anti-conquest, images such as these portray Westerners as the authority figures with regards to Africa. Attenborough is conveyed as a knowledgeable expert in the natural realm of

⁷⁷ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁷⁸ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁷⁹ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁸⁰ See glossary on pages 174-176.

Africa and as such he represents and instills a metaphorical neocolonialism, in which his understanding of the continent is preferred over the more authentic knowledge of an African person.

5.2.4 An Active Strategy for Change

Fürsich (2002) highlights the need for active systematic proposals to foster change and appeal to audiences to trans-code representations. She believes that journalists should challenge conventional, traditional journalistic practices in order to create more balanced representations of the African continent. This links well with Fairclough's (1995) distinction between conventional and creative discursive practices. According to him, discursive practices can be either conventional, that is realized in homogenized forms with a secure sociocultural practice, or creative, which refers to heterogeneous texts with fluid and multiple sociocultural practices. I will focus now on the latter of these two as well as Fürsich's concept of an active strategy as they pertain to *Travel Africa*.

5.2.4.1 Publisher's Letter

Each edition of *Travel Africa* begins with a letter from the publisher which typically explores contemporary African issues such as sustainable tourism, conservation, Africa's economic crisis, community participation in tourism ventures and fostering relationships with local cultures. Whilst these discussions often encompass stereotypical descriptions of Africa, they illuminate current concerns on the continent and regularly offer viable, if not occasionally idealized, solutions (or at least starting points) to these problems. For example in edition 39 the editor states: "By its nature, tourism also creates personal interactions between cultures that are stimulating and that foster understanding. After all, it is through a greater understanding that we can best contribute to the world we share" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 39, p. 3). Whilst it is clear from this example that there tends to be a macro focus with a proclivity towards general, grand theories or strategies for change, the overall focus is on increasing the dissemination of

knowledge about Africa and improving Africa's global image. This is, however, inevitably immersed within travel discourses of romanticized and often exaggerated representations.

5.2.4.2 Reader's Letters

Another, potentially less biased strategy may come in the form of letters submitted to the magazine for publication by readers. These letters regularly target issues such as safe travelling on the African continent in an attempt to rectify modern misconceptions. This creates to some extent a public sphere and a feedback loop in which readers can express their personal (seemingly unbiased) views concerning the African continent. For example, a reader writes in edition 35 "I am Italian and in my country I encounter widespread ignorance concerning the Africa continent" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 35, p. 15). Another reader states in edition 36 that "Unfortunately, the media's negative portrayal of Zimbabwe means that many people are missing out on what could be their trip of a lifetime" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, p. 17). There is frequent mention of negative media coverage and a concerted effort to raise awareness concerning this. It must be acknowledged, however, that the letters that are published are selected by the editorial team and not all of the letters will appear in the pages of the magazine. As such, this may present an unbalanced perspective. The letters or opinion section does nonetheless serve as part of an active strategy or a creative discursive practice.

5.2.4.3 Linguistic or Narrative Techniques

Particular linguistic or narrative techniques may be used to break the mold of conventional journalistic practice. In a section entitled 'The Independent Traveler', the intricacies and complexities of neocolonialism and postmodern cultural identity are explored. Modern misconceptions of Africa are illuminated and this departs from traditional travel discourse. For example, in edition 34, the journalist asks, "are we so riddled with culture-bound expectations about how traditional Africans should behave that the slightest deviation blinds us to reality?" (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 34, p. 17). Concerns about the nature of travel journalism and the packaging of culture and cultural experiences are dealt with.

For example,

Africa is widely thought of as dangerous, corrupt, famine-stricken and war ridden – in short, a place best avoided. Surely the travel media should be trying to correct this misapprehension, rather than tossing an underlying sense of guilt into the cocktail of wrong-headed reasons to stay away (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 35, p. 17).

5.2.4.4 Balanced Reporting

In addition to this, there are a number of features that present a more balanced perspective. In edition 41 in an article focusing on Nigeria, the journalist writes there are “many natural and cultural rewards for travelers prepared to look beyond the mistrust and misunderstanding that currently blights this West African giant” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 41, p. 87). This perspective is not overly positive and praising as many of *Travel Africa*’s features tend to be. Rather, it is balanced with: “I did discover plenty of potential, but I also came to the conclusion that it has yet to be knitted into any sort of coherent tourist industry” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 41, p. 87). Perhaps one of the most effective strategies towards creating balanced reporting that strays away from the overly stereotypical discursive constructions that are the norm is to reveal the underlying objective of the travel industry. This occurs in edition 40 when a journalist writes: “The safari business, understandably, likes to depict Africa as untamed, pristine wilderness. But as we all know, the continent has another side: one of teeming cities and sprawling development” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 40, p. 156).

5.2.4.5 Neocolonial Complexities

Western aid in Africa is a complex realm of neocolonialism, global capitalism and postmodernity. It is dealt with in numerous feature articles and in much of the editorial content. In edition 36, in an article entitled ‘Knight in shining armour? No thanks’ the journalist draws on a recent study which shows that “celebrity-endorsed campaigns such as Live8 strengthen neo-colonial stereotypes and could actually be damaging to Africa’s developmental prospects” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 36, p. 25). Africa it is argued needs to be seen as independent. This opinion is initially voiced in edition 35, when it is written that,

Like our attraction to bad press, we also dwell on the aid we, in the West, give to Africa. In truth, it is Africa which gives to us – those of us lucky enough to visit the continent – and what it offers lasts forever (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 35, p. 31).

This is reiterated in edition 37:

“They [Western volunteers] had this idea that Africa was a continent that needed help but when they got there they realised the Africans can help themselves if you just lend them a little expertise to get them on their way” (*Travel Africa*, Ed. 37, p. 36).

Essentially, these quotes create a discourse that complicates issues of neocolonialism and suggests that it is not a simple issue.

5.3 *Getaway* Magazine

Getaway is a South African publication that focuses on the dissemination of travel-related information in a concise and practical manner. It targets the South African middle-class with a particular emphasis on easing the difficult, contemporary task of balancing family life, work and leisure. Whilst still dealing with issues of nature conservation, ecotourism and responsible travel, *Getaway* aligns much more importance than *Travel Africa* does to providing the South African public with pragmatic and sensible knowledge concerning affordable and accessible travel locations in and around Africa. It provides information with respect to the best travel routes, cuisine and accommodation available across a variety of African destinations and as such is a commercial magazine focusing on prospective consumerist travelers. It also contains vehicle reviews, a photography gallery (with photographs provided by readers) and an elaborate travel guide consisting of a large collection of advertisements for accommodation, travel services and outdoor products.

5.3.1 Stylized Semiotics: The Use of Symbolic Representation and Categorization

In keeping with its emphasis on the sensible and the practical, places, services, scenery, performance or ability (in the case of the vehicle review section) and prices in *Getaway*, are regularly reduced to categorical ratings systems based on recognizable and easily understandable

symbols. For example, a symbol similar to the dollar sign is used to signify the cost of the accommodation or travel package on a rating scale where a rating of one 'dollar' symbol is relatively inexpensive and five is considered only suitable for the very affluent. This form of categorization is a regular feature in the publication. In volume 17, number 11, an article reviewing island resorts in Mozambique makes use of a 'laid-back factor' symbolically represented by an illustration of a human foot. In addition to these examples, 'information boxes' appear frequently interspersed with the primary text of the feature. These boxes contain a variety of categorized information from summarized 'highs' and 'lows' of the destination being featured to hints and tips for prospective travelers. These symbolic representations and ratings systems link to what Spurr (1993) refers to as the conversion of landscapes and foreign bodies into signifiers of the travelers' eye. Although Spurr (1993) is referring here to the use of linguistic techniques to convert landscapes and people into recognizable symbols for mass consumption, I am arguing that, in addition to this, the use of symbolic representations in *Getaway*, particularly with reference to aspects such as the 'laid-back factor' or the 'wild factor', serve to simplify the African continent into easily distinguishable and stereotypical criteria. These criteria are embedded within contemporary travel discourse and will appeal to modern consumerist travellers. The symbolic representations embody what Spurr (1993) and Fürsich (2002) would dub a packaged cultural discourse. It displays the conversion of African places into signifiers for mass consumption. Similarly to a guidebook, ease of use and access to information are vitally important and as such symbolic representations are used for simple navigation. The typical 'reading path' of a *Getaway* feature is guided by a multitude of aspects. These will be discussed in the following section.

5.3.1.1 The Reading Path: Reading Travel Journalism

Much of *Getaway*'s pages are saturated with imagery and symbolic representations. The reader's eye is drawn to various elements that are made more salient through a number of visual techniques. Typically, the title of a feature will appear prominent through the use of large, striking, bold fonts. The majority of the features begin with an image which stretches across two pages. The title will be placed in an area of the page(s) where it is most salient in relation to the image and will conventionally be the primary focal point of the page, although in some instances

the image may be more prominent than the text. Through the use of what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) call vectors – lines that point or direct the reader’s eye in a certain direction⁸¹ – attention is then drawn to an inset image and then to the introductory text which appears at the beginning of all *Getaway* feature articles. The text is written in the third person and introduces the core focus of the article as well as the travel journalist who wrote the piece. For example,

He’s Kingsley Holgate, but all over Africa they know him as The Beard. Together with his wife, Gill, his son, Ross, they’re probably the most famous travellers on the continent. **Don Pinnock**⁸² took up an invitation for a glass of rum and stayed for dinner (*Getaway*, Vol. 19, No. 2, p.34).

The vectors that guide the reader to this text are characteristically straight lines emanating from the smaller inset image and ending in a square bracket shape, perpendicular to the line, which opens out towards the text.⁸³ Although the structure does not always adhere strictly to this format, the reading path will normally follow this course. In some instances the reader’s eye may be directed to a quote from the article and then to the introductory text. Quotes are interspersed amongst the main body of the text and attention is drawn to these quotes with the use of similar vectors to the ones discussed above. The articles are segmented using subheadings. This allows time for the reader to scan the page and explore the imagery and quotations (which often serve as a preview of the text which will follow). The quotes also serve as a kind of advertising for the article, as they are normally selected on the basis of their peculiarity, humour, or reference to particularly interesting facts. They are constructed to draw the reader into the body of the text and provide an idea of the tone and nature of the article for anyone who may be scanning the pages, but not actually reading every word that is printed. In addition to this, ‘information boxes’, ‘fact files’ and images break the monotonous text.

In some instances, sketches or illustrations are used in the background. These relate to the content of the feature. For example, in volume 18, number 9, in an article entitled ‘Who was Coenraad de Buys?’, a watermarked image of a traditional boer *trekker* appears in the background. This feature is part of a series which track the routes used by the early Dutch

⁸¹ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁸² Don Pinnock is a travel journalist and the current *Getaway* editor.

⁸³ Note that these vectors were only introduced in volume 18, number 4 when *Getaway* underwent a style change. The reading path was, however, similar to this in previous issues.

trekkers and imagery such as this is commonplace in these articles. It serves to create a particular aesthetic through the use of recognizable symbolic imagery. In addition to this, flowing vector lines (which appear behind the text and are also opaque) are sometimes used to lead the reader's eye through the text and perhaps to circle a specific image making it more salient.

These vectors, images and illustrations all encourage the reader to follow a specific path when interpreting the feature articles. This relates to what Spurr (1993) and Fürsich (2002) refer to as a branding or packaging of African culture. A standardized format is used based on its success in attracting the readers' attention. The reading path is designed to perpetuate a specific reading style and this ultimately commodifies African people and places. The feature content is structured to present African places in a specific manner. Added to this, the content of the imagery and illustrations all contribute to a construction of Africa that is ensnared within stereotypes and assumptions. However, it must be noted that travel journalism by its nature aims to 'sell' African locations. *Getaway* is not necessarily deliberately and overtly oppressive, rather the publication uses a particular style, format and type of visual imaging in order to appeal to prospective consumerist travellers.

5.3.2 Discourses of Description: Romanticized Language and the Spiritual

Much like *Travel Africa*, *Getaway's* feature articles frequently contain language that is emotive, highly descriptive and romanticized often linking experience to the spiritual or magical. For example a description such as, "Morocco is a country that assails your senses: the air is tainted with incense, saffron and dust; ancient cities burst with people and vibrant colours; smells of spices and incense only just mask Third World vapour; strings of shoes dangle in the markets and oases form unexpected ribbons in the desert"⁸⁴ (*Getaway*, Vol, 17, No. 11, p.59) contains an array of sensory references to attract readers. Although *Getaway* adopts a slightly less poetic linguistic style than *Travel Africa*, there is still extensive use of language that is poignant and powerfully descriptive. As I have already mentioned these types of descriptions create

⁸⁴ See section 5.3.4.1 for a discussion of Pratt's three strategies used by travel writers. This example would serve as the initial stage of *aestheticization*.

stereotypical representations of Africa and its inhabitants and create a specific packaged and constructed portrayal of the continent. *Getaway* differs from *Travel Africa* however in its use of local colloquialisms and slang terminology.

5.3.2.1 Language Use: Colloquialisms and Conversational Tone

In addition to eloquent descriptions, *Getaway* often makes use of local terminology and expressions. For example, “the palm-frond flames would roar in a gust of Kaskazi (northerly trade wind) with only the eyes and the teeth of the dancers discernable in the darkness beyond” (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 11, p. 45). This excerpt combines both descriptive, emotive language and local jargon (the word ‘Kaskazi’). This serves to create the illusion of authenticity and is a form of anti-conquest (Pratt, 1992) and appropriation (Spurr, 1993).⁸⁵ The knowledge of the journalist is assumed to be genuine as local phrases are placed casually into the text. These references may in fact serve imperialistic agendas which are masked through their assertive and confident usage. The casual use of indigenous phrases or words implies mastery of the dialect and as such represents an appropriation of local culture. In this particular example it should also be noted that the unfamiliar Others (in this case the ‘dancers’) are distinguished and categorized along racial lines. The colour of their skin is emphasized as they blend into the natural surroundings of the night. Spurr (1993) explores the notion of naturalization – the idea that natives are in some way bound to the laws of nature. In this case the black dancers are imbedded within their natural surroundings and this relationship itself is naturalized. This naturalization is conveyed through the choice in language, tone and expression. In this case, the dancers in the night create an aesthetic of the ritualistic and primitive.

It may be argued that the use of local language (words such as “Kaskazi”) could aid in providing a voice for the locals, or at least have issues related in their own language. It portrays an affiliation between indigenous inhabitants and the travel journalists who write about them, hence

⁸⁵ Although Spurr (1993) refers to appropriation as the actual claiming of land and natural resources, he also alludes to the domination and domestication of ‘native’ inhabitants of foreign lands. In this case, I am referring to the latter, as knowledge of local language implies a sense of associated control or power. This idea is also explored by Said (1978).

attributing some sense of authenticity to the writers. However, as Spurr (1993) argues this authenticity can never be 'true', but rather it is a false, 'postcolonial' authenticity which will homogenize a particular viewpoint – that of the consumerist, commercial traveler. This does not imply that all the words of travel journalists are artificial and untrue. But rather I am arguing here that travel writing is entrenched within discourses of capitalism and consumption and this must be taken into when analyzing travel texts. The degree of authenticity will also depend, to some extent, on the propinquity of the place which is the subject of the text. Most of *Getaway*'s journalists are South Africans and as such are more familiar with local cultures compared to the writers of *Travel Africa*⁸⁶. They do, however, also travel to areas outside of South Africa and in such situations may have diminished authenticity.

In addition to the jargon of local indigenous cultures and rural communities, Afrikaans colloquialisms are abundant in *Getaway*. Words such as 'stoep', 'ballie', 'jislaiik', 'jol', 'dorp' and 'bru' are used throughout the magazine and provide an indication of the target market. *Getaway* targets middle to upper class South African citizens, the majority of whom reside in the bigger cities such as Johannesburg or Cape Town.⁸⁷ Although these terms derive their origins from the Afrikaans language, they are not adopted strictly by Afrikaners. Rather, they are colloquialisms that have become a part of a more general South African dialect. They indicate that the magazine targets an English-speaking market. The tone is conversational and tries to appeal to ordinary South Africans. For example, in an article in volume 18, number 3, the journalist explains how stories of the day's activities could be discussed "around a braai of boerewors and lamb chops" (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 3, p.48). The use of this terminology provides interesting insights into the role of travel journalism in contributing to the construction of national identity. The language is inclusive and creates a strong distinction between 'us' and 'them'. The interpellation of English speaking South Africans creates a classificatory system wherein it is not only the subjects of the discourse who are being excluded (local, native inhabitants, etc.) but also other sects of South African society who do not fall within this

⁸⁶ Note that not all of *Travel Africa*'s writers are European. In some instances South African writers who are regular contributors to *Getaway* also write for *Travel Africa*.

⁸⁷ This is evident from the fact that directions provided to destinations regularly use these cities as the primary markers. Proximity to these cities is also favoured for weekend holiday locations.

economic bracket or language group. Whilst this use of language indicates some form of transculturation (Pratt, 1992), as elements drawn from Afrikaans and English cultures are merged to form new dialects and ultimately postmodern, multiple identities, there is a definite exclusion (or at least far less representation) of other cultural groupings such as Zulu or Xhosa people.

Phrases derived from other cultural groupings are used less frequently and normally to illicit a certain effect or increase a sense of authenticity or authority rather than to make use of an appealing conversational tone. In an article entitled ‘The Rains Down in Africa’ the journalist makes use of the term “*wazungu*” (*Getaway*, Vol, 18, No. 2, p. 66) which translates roughly to ‘tourists’. This seems to elevate the writer to a position of authority that is superior to that of the average traveller. The writer in this case uses the language of the locals to distinguish him/herself from the world of the tourist. In the same article words such as “skopping” and “schlep” are used in a more casual manner to create an engaging conversational tone. This indicates the extent to which inclusive and exclusive language is used to create classificatory systems which interpellate a specific target market.

5.3.3 Quintessential (South) African Identities

Similarly to the tradition of novel writing, *Getaway* journalists use linguistic techniques and devices in order to characterize themselves as protagonists as well as to characterize the varied people that they meet in their travels. For example a tour guide in volume 17, number 11 is depicted as, “somewhat beyond description. Tall, sinewy, always dressed in a khaki shirt and shorts and permanently barefoot (he doesn’t own a pair of shoes), he’s the sort you instinctively know you can rely on anywhere except in a city” (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 11, p.67). Descriptions of tour guides (predominantly men) are commonly associated with toughness and strength. Using signifiers of stereotypical ruggedness such as bare feet and a khaki uniform, Christo, in the above example, is portrayed as a trustworthy and reliable guide. He is a stereotypical, quintessential white South African male.

In addition to this, travel journalists regularly characterize themselves in their narratives. For example, in an article focusing on a fishing trip on the Orange River, the journalist writes, “It didn’t matter that I hadn’t caught anything except the occasional karee tree (*Rhus lancea*) along the banks, or that I’d hooked myself in the back of the leg once” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 67). In this case, and in many others, the writers portrays themselves as the antiheroes and protagonists of the narrative. They rarely do everything right and often ridicule themselves. This combines with the conversational tone of the text to create likeable characters who the readers can relate to. This conversational tone also aids in developing rapport with the readers and ensures that the authenticity of the journalist is not questioned. Many of the features in *Getaway* are written as personalized narratives and as such they serve to create an inclusive group wherein the readers will develop a misinformed relationship with the writer and hence the journalist is elevated in status.

Black Africans are characterized differently. For example, in volume 17, number 11, the journalist writes,

Characters such as Carlos end up here to run seedy bars and play their selection of rock and roll. Or Bebe, so fat she can hardly move, who runs her restaurant from her bedroom. And not to forget Bebe’s beautiful daughter, who excites patrons with more than just her bartending skills (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 11, p. 40).

In this instance, the local inhabitants are conveyed pejoratively and are associated with devious acts such as prostitution, although they are given a certain African charm. Adjectives such as ‘seedy’ and ‘fat’ (which implies gluttony) are used to create a specific image of these locals. They are discursively constructed as belonging to and being a part of an inconceivable world, as far as *Getaway* readers are concerned. They are the unfamiliar Others and are distinguished from the readers through association with that which is considered immoral or unacceptable in contemporary ‘white’ South Africa.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ It should be noted that very few black journalists write for *Getaway*, the majority of them are white. Although there does seem to be equal distribution in terms of gender.

However, it is not always the case that indigenous people are conveyed in a negative light. In volume 17, number 10, for example, the journalist states that “Kenyans seems to take it as a matter of personal pride that visitors are happy” (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 10, p. 73). This is obviously intended as a positive quality and something to take pride in. Yet, it must be noted that the writer does not refer to specific Kenyans, but rather generalizes his or her comments to the entire Kenyan nation (although the context of the comment would imply a certain focus to the statement). In addition to this, the compliment is laced with insult, as the suggestion is that all Kenyans have a desire to please tourists. This stereotyping again serves to create a particular portrayal of African people and their role within a consumerist tourism industry. The local inhabitants are regularly ‘put on display’ by *Getaway* travel journalists. They are idealized (Spurr, 1993) based on their function within the commercial travel business. Descriptions such as “Fat mamas carry chickens and slim men push over-loaded bicycles” (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 11, p. 39) imply a romanticizing of poverty and serve to create allure and appeal for prospective travelers who will find the rural way of life interesting and intriguing, if only for the duration of a short holiday. This can be seen regularly in descriptions in the magazine which aim to establish the mood or feel of the narrative. For example,

Outside, school kids skipped and hopped back from their lessons, and tannies kept their stoeps clean with a few rigorous sweeps of their brooms. Rastafarians offered me some dope and young girls giggled coquettishly at boys as they walked past each other (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 6, p. 47).

In this case, colloquialisms are used and another common element of characterization emerges – that of small town hospitality.

5.3.3.1 Small Town Hospitality

Many of *Getaway*’s feature articles have a strong focus on the desire to escape the overcrowded cities and immerse oneself in a rural or not yet modernized town. One of the attractions of this is the hospitality that travelers receive in these small establishments – hospitability that is often strongly tied to traditional Afrikaans homesteads. For example, a journalist describes his experience of small towns in Namibia:

Instead of the cursory greeting of a professional hotelier, these visitor friendly farmer folk are happy to invite you onto their stoep, call for some coffee or a *brandewyn* (brandy), regale you with stories handed down through generations or chuckle over some local gossip. They'll feed you local lamb, honest *boerekos* (farm cooking) and send you off in the morning bloated on breakfast and with a packet of sandwiches for the road (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 38).

In this example the locals are clearly from Afrikaans, or at least, Dutch descent. They have a history of agrarian or pastoral living and are depicted as friendly, kind, generous and openhearted. Examples such as the one stated above appear regularly in the magazine. For example, in volume 19, number 4, the journalist writes, "The clock ticked comfortably in the old-fashioned kitchen with its big, friendly Aga stove and copper pots. It felt like we'd found the home we'd always dreamed of having at the end of our 'happily ever after' story" (*Getaway*, Vol. 19, No. 4, p.74). Small town lifestyles are idealized and discursively constructed as natural or superior to other forms of existence.

Additionally, the inhabitants of small towns are often characterized through linguistic devices such as direct speech. They generally exude the narrow-minded, moral (often religious), warm characteristics of jaded, sheltered Afrikaner society. For example, a local in the town of Wepener in the Free State is quoted as saying, "The dominee recently gave me a klap for organizing a strip show. Jislaaik, how unfair is that?" (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 53). Discourses of secular-based cultural identities are reflected in the statement. The 'dominee' plays a central role in governing the local people. The use of mixed English and the nature of his statement reflect a transcultural identity, yet it is an identity that is trapped between the traditional morals and ideals of long-established pastoral Afrikanerdom and the pressure of contemporary globalization and postmodernity.

5.3.3.2 The Friendly and Humble Locals

Of course, representations of identity in *Getaway* are not limited to descriptions of traditional, white South Africans. There are many occasions in which the local black communities are described and portrayed. These descriptions are not restricted to linguistic depiction, but also extend to imagery of local people. Often these portrayals embody a sense of humility and graciousness, perhaps in an exaggerated form. For example, in volume 18, number 4, the

journalist describes a local guide (Digo Shiveni) by stating that “His laugh makes sweet thorn trees blossom” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 42). Again there are elements of naturalization at play as the guide is represented in a positive relationship with the natural world (Spurr, 1993). Often locals and particularly tour guides are idealized and represented with positive character traits. These character traits, however, are enmeshed within discourses of consumerism and commercial travel, as the positive qualities such as cheerfulness and specialized knowledge are beneficial to the tourists whom the tour leader is guiding. The positive character traits are positive within the context of the commodified tourism industry.

Tour guides (particularly black tour guides) or locals may also be given qualities of the mysterious or spiritual. For example, in volume 18, number 1, the journalist writes, “We live like the locals and in return were offered a rare glimpse into their ancient way of life” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 63). In these situations the locals are being portrayed as unfamiliar Others. They are not of the conventional Western-influenced world.

5.3.4 Nostalgic Cultural Memory and Spiritual Connections to the Past

In Spurr’s (1993) discussion of the rhetorical mode of appropriation, he emphasizes the notion of a nostalgic cultural memory in which the act of appropriation is intertwined with a natural spiritual return to an agrarian past.⁸⁹ *Getaway* consistently makes references to the history and heritage of the destinations being featured. This is particularly noticeable in a series of features focused on retracing the *trekking* routes taken by early Afrikaans settlers. These articles first appear in volume 18, number 4, and they continue for 6 issues, with the final feature being published in volume 18, number 9. Physical locations and material remains of historical places are commonly ascribed a certain powerful, spiritual connection to the past. In volume 18, no 4, for example, the journalist writes, “I picked up a couple of pink clay bricks – bones of the old house and talismans of my journey – trying to feel the spirit of the place, of the Uyses [Piet Uys and his relatives]” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p.82). In this case, the journalist is concerned with

⁸⁹ Spurr uses the concept in the sense of the European colonizing mission and refers to this agrarian past as a feeling of innate belonging on the part of European imperialists. In this case I wish to convey that descendants of a Western lineage or European-influenced people exude the same inclination to return to a past life.

the *trek* undertaken by Piet Uys and he or she feels a profound spiritual connection to the Uys family as a result of having a grandmother who was the first cousin twice removed of Piet Uys. This seems to be a very distant relation. Despite this, the journalist still uses the personal relationship to emphasize some sort of deeper understanding of the Uys family. For example, “I stopped at a rocky ford and listened for my ancestral spirit” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 86). On this and several other occasions, a physical location is being conveyed as the contact zone in which the journalists’ can acknowledge and engage with their ancestors, ancestors who are, in this instance, descended from early colonists.⁹⁰

Through emotive, often sepia or black and white imagery, and powerful descriptions, the *voortrekkers* are depicted as unsung heroes, or brave adventurers who had to overcome great adversity. Piet Retief is described as a “trek leader with piercing eyes, light trousers with braces and [a] wide-brimmed hat surveying his stock.” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 7, p.73). African tribes are regularly portrayed in opposition to the *voortrekkers* and are described as “inhospitable” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 51). This creates a specific image of Afrikaans people and articulates a distinct contrast between ‘us’ (in this case the language would suggest that English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans are in the inclusive group) and ‘them’ (those traditionally opposed to the *voortrekkers*, for example Zulu people, are excluded). The revisiting of traditional categorizations such as this may be a part of what Said (1978) would label a textual universe, wherein the schematic authority of a textual description is taken to be more relevant or pertinent than an actual encounter with a particular culture, people or place. Traditional understandings of the role and nature of the *voortrekkers* are perpetuated through modern adaptations of their journeys.

⁹⁰ It must be noted, however, that in volume 18, number 8, the journey of the Griqua people is relived. The Griquas do not fall into the category of traditional *voortrekkers*, and as such this indicates that *Getaway* does not focus strictly on *trekkers* with a Dutch origin.

5.3.4.1 A Return to Colonialism: The Travel Writer as Monarch-of-all-I-See-Scene

Mary Louise Pratt (1992) in her text *Imperial Eyes* explores the tone of authority and power which is sometimes adopted by travel writers as they describe that which they observe. She refers to this form of travel writing circumstance as the Monarch-of all-I-See-Scene in which the three strategies or conventional means used by travel writers - estheticization, density of meaning and domination – come into play. In an article entitled ‘Time-travelling through Zululand’, these three strategies can be witnessed. At the level of estheticization, natural places are coded into lavish descriptions of wonderment and desire. For example, “Cattle speckled red, black or brown on white graze around a lovely cairn. A young herd boy waves at you, standing shoulder deep in autumn pink cosmos. In the distance, a familiar-shaped hill strikes a fist into the sky” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 6, p.36). This description is then given density of meaning and granted a qualification which boosts its importance and significance. In the next line the journalist states that “every element here is infused with historical drama and cultural potency” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 6, p.36). The writer also goes on to say that “the ground is hallowed, infused with blood and spirit” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 6, p.39). These strongly emotive and descriptive phrases give qualification to the initially estheticized portrayals, as they link the land to heritage and ancestry. Finally, the seer adopts the power to ideologically *dominate* the seen. It is through creating a density of meaning and adopting an authoritative tone that the journalist is able to have power over that which is seen. This can be regarded as a reworking of what Pratt refers to as the Monarch-of-All-I-See-Scene and it is a strategy that is adopted on a regular basis throughout the magazine.

5.3.5 Imagery

The majority of the cover images in *Getaway* portray travellers engaging in some form of touristic activity⁹¹. The framing of these photographs is significant, as they are regularly framed by the text and title of the magazine, constructing the subject as the most salient element in the image. For example, in volume 18, number 1, an image of a young, white man appears on the

⁹¹ 22 out of the 24 covers images examined contain either images of people, or images which imply the presence of people, such as a boat, or a vehicle.

cover. He is paddling a kayak. The photograph is taken from the front, left-hand side of the kayak creating an oblique, low-angle shot. The angle of the paddle in his hands creates a strong vector line⁹² from the top right of the page, down to the bottom left. This combines with the text to the right of the vector line and to the left of the subject's shoulders and head to effectively frame the man's smiling face and strong upper body. The use of images such as this create an aesthetic of appeal and allure, as the viewer simultaneously admires the subject of the image and aspires to be in the position of that subject. It is also significant that the man in the image is white, as are the majority of subjects of the cover images. This highlights the target audience of *Getaway* and implies that Africa is being constructed as a commodity which can be consumed by prospective white travellers.

In addition to this the image is very subjective; it is specifically constructed in order to illicit a particular response from the viewer. Many of the cover images adopt this aesthetic form. For example, in volume 18, number 9, an image of a young, slender, white woman lying on the beach represents a portrayal of the idyllic bound up with discourses of sexual allure and attraction. In this case, the photograph is shot from a high angle with the camera placed behind the woman. The angle is also oblique, which according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) implies a subordination of the subject. In this image, the woman is essentially on 'offer'⁹³ for the viewer in a voyeuristic representation. She symbolizes leisure, desire and sexual allure in a packaging and idealization of an idyllic African aesthetic setting.

It is also noticeable that photographers in *Getaway* make frequent use of stylistic camera techniques. For example, in volume 18, number 6, the cover image portrays a stylized, blurred image of a mountain bike as it descends a hill. The photographer makes use of an oblique, low angle as the image appears to have been taken from the pedal of the bicycle, with the rider on the right hand side and blurred trees in the foreground. The image has low modality⁹⁴ as the colours seem oversaturated and the image is unnatural. Photographs such as this create a stylized

⁹² See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁹³ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁹⁴ See glossary on pages 174-176.

aesthetic that is striking and eye-catching. The image also links well with the tagline, as it portrays a traveler “Going Places [and] Doing Things in Africa”. In addition to this, the word ‘spring’ is made salient through a change in font size and colour in the article title “Hit the Trail, It’s Spring”. A flower appears alongside the text that matches the hue of the text colour chosen for the word ‘spring’. There is a clear correlation here and the viewer is attracted by the stylized imagery and then immediately notices the text. This multimodal⁹⁵ representation creates an aesthetic that portrays Africa as a tourist destination. The continent is admired for its attractiveness as a place to engage in touristic activity. Numerous other stylized images appear on the covers in order to fulfill this function.⁹⁶

A sense of solidarity is also exuded by these images, as they are often non-transactional⁹⁷ (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). For example, the image of the paddler, the woman on the beach and the cyclist are all images in which the action in question is not related to any other participants⁹⁸. This symbolizes the liberation and freedom that is often associated with the African continent. The subjects of the images are engaging in leisurely touristic activities whilst simultaneously escaping the gregarious realm of ordinary social life. Africa is constructed as something to be utilizing in order to escape conventional reality.⁹⁹

5.3.6 Active Strategies for Change

Similarly to *Travel Africa*, certain strategies for breaking the traditional mold of commercial travel journalism can be found in *Getaway*. Whilst much of the publication adheres to the strategies and structures of contemporary consumerist travel, there are instances in which the conventional writing styles, structures and imagery are used to convey a more balanced perspective of Africa. I will now turn to some of these strategies.

⁹⁵ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁹⁶ For example, An image of a blurred vehicle (Vol. 17, No. 10); an series of image contained within the numbers 2007 (Vol. 18, No. 10); an image of a fire-dancer (Vol. 19, No. 3).

⁹⁷ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁹⁸ See glossary on pages 174-176.

⁹⁹ Note that I have mentioned the role that imagery can play in an active strategy for change, in section 5.3.6.4

5.3.6.1 ‘Under the Baobab’

Getaway readers are encouraged to contribute their viewpoints concerning issues of accommodation and service in holiday destinations in and around South Africa, conservation matters, issues related to official bodies or organizations involved in tourism, ecotourism and economic expansion and simply tales, stories and anecdotes from trips undertaken by readers. Whilst it is ultimately the choice of the editor which of these stories go to print, they do serve as a platform for active engagement from the readership and a such allow for potentially negative or contrasting views to be expressed. *Getaway* claims in volume 18, number 1 that it is their “mandate to inform readers honestly of both the good and the bad in places we visit” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 13). In volume 18, number 4, a disgruntled reader is given space to voice his concerns: “What I did take exception to were the awful facilities” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 4, p. 11). In volume 18, number 8, a reader states: “I travelled to Zimbabwe in July and life at the border post was still a nightmare” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 8, p. 13). These sorts of descriptions create a feedback loop from which other readers can also benefit.

In addition to this readers are given the space to criticize the actual magazine. In volume 18, number 5, a reader expresses concern over the style change at *Getaway* which saw the magazine increase in size. They state: “Well the increased size of the magazine has not only hit but completely destroyed all my nerves - just to think of the additional trees which have to be chopped down to publish this larger magazine! Please save our trees!” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 17). This allows for a more open environment, although, it must be noted that many comments by readers do not express concern over the commercial, consumerist discursive structure of the magazine, but rather they are concerned with issues of conservation and tourism that are a part of this discursive framework.

5.3.6.2 Honest African Perspectives

Whilst *Travel Africa* writers are seldom critical or negative about Africa, *Getaway* journalists are more willing to express disappointment at specific issues related to travel on the continent. Critical viewpoints are again expressed from within a commercial travel discourse and as a result, many of these critical comments are concerned with issues related to travel, such as poor accommodation. This focus on the practical may result in a lack of authority or weight behind the criticism. Nonetheless this emphasis on the practical may be a potential active strategy in itself as an underscoring of the pragmatic steers away from overly descriptive, and often stereotypical depictions of Africa, of which *Getaway* has fewer than *Travel Africa*. In volume 17, number 11, the luxury of a Mozambican holiday resort is ruined by “a mildly beaten mini-bus” and “over-sized potholes” (*Getaway*, Vol. 17, No. 11). Similarly, in an article entitled ‘The Rains Down in Africa’, the journalist writes, “I’m not so sure if the Serengeti lives up to the hype” (*Getaway*, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 72). These sorts of descriptions present an honest (although opinionated) conclusion about African locations and present the reader with practical information which they can use should they consider similar journeys. This breaks the conventional travel journalism mold of ‘selling’ Africa as an infallible destination

5.3.6.3 Transforming Linguistic Techniques: Multiple Authors and Alternative Ways of Writing

The majority of the feature articles in *Getaway* follow a specific format and are written to be engaging and appealing to prospective travelers. However, on occasion this format is altered and the result can be described as a potential active strategy for change. In volume 17, number 12, in an article entitled ‘And the People Spoke of Mountains’, the journalist convinces each of the travelers accompanying him or her on the trip to write a small section about their journey. Selections from these pieces are then used to create the completed article. Whilst the feature does not entirely subvert the convention of travel writing, the concept presents an interesting alternative to the norm and will inevitably result in a more multifarious portrayal.

In volume 19, number 4, another creative approach is adopted. In this instance, the article is constructed as a transcript of a hypothetical conversation that took place between two travel journalists as they recalled the events of a recent fishing trip. Whilst the transcribed conversation is clearly constructed, it presents another creative manner in which to construct a travel feature. The tone is highly conversational and colloquial and is appealing as a result. An excerpt from the article goes as follows:

Clive: Oh ja, that rasta. We lent him some bait and he proceeded to catch two beautiful grunter with it.

Cobus: He must've been in touch with nature. He gave us one of those spotties (spotted grunter) to say thank you for the bait and said, 'One love, brudda!'

Clive: Yeah, he was cool. (*Getaway*, Vol. 19, No. 4, p. 40).

The experience, which would normally be conveyed through eloquent descriptions, is being described through the conversation between the two travel journalists. Both of these linguistic techniques are vital for the contribution they make to breaking conventional travel journalism formats.

5.3.6.4 Imagery as an Active Strategy

The cover image of volume 17, number 11 of *Getaway*, consists of an image of a black man crouched in the front of a small fishing vessel. This image strays from the typical idealized or stylized imagery that is the norm. In this case, the subject is framed by a series of diagonal lines created by the sail and sail ropes of the vessel and the actual sides of the boat itself. A slightly high angle combined with his crouching position and the fact that he is looking away from the camera creates a sense of detachment. An untidy pile of rope which lies behind the subject contributes to an image that is somewhat uncomfortable and unnerving. Whilst the turquoise water in front of him implies a sense of the idyllic, the image itself does not adhere to the same elements of idealization that many of the other visuals do. The image may be multimodal, as the text alongside it, which reads "Potholes in Paradise", suggests that the article is somewhat critical. I am arguing that images such as these subvert traditional idealized portrayals and present more balanced and realistic representations. They can be used in order to stray away

from conventional aesthetic portrayals in order to create a new and ultimately more equal kind of representation.

5.4 *Africa Geographic Magazine*

Africa Geographic is a publication which aims to promote and disseminate knowledge of wildlife, conservation, ecotravel, indigenous cultures and the general environment. The central focus is often on institutional issues of wildlife and nature management practices as well as the current political, cultural and economic challenges facing conservation in Africa. This involves an examination of Africa's cultures and people, both urban and rural and the role that they play in promoting and exercising conservation policies. The magazine targets more formally educated and most likely affluent upper class South Africans and the feature articles stray away from the personalized narrative structures of *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*, as the writers opt for a more objective, formal tone. The publication aims to create awareness of what are considered to be the most pertinent issues on the continent and, linking this to the realm of tourism, they suggest (either personally or through a summation of the views of an expert in the field) possible community projects or policy changes that may have a positive effect on biodiversity or the well-being of a specific animal, for example. As the editor argues, the magazine aims "to portray this often confounding continent in a manner that focuses on the great promise of its wonderful diversity of people, cultures and nature" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 6).

5.4.1 Objective and Scientific Discourse

The writing style and tone of *Africa Geographic* embodies a quality that is significantly more objective and scientific in comparison to the conversational, colloquial format adopted by *Getaway* and *Travel Africa*. This formal approach also extends to the choice of content and rather than conveying personalized narratives (although there are elements of this), *Africa Geographic* deals with issues like HIV and AIDS as it applies to the tourism and conservation sector, the progress of animal conservation – particularly if the animals in question are endangered, job creation through tourism, issues of ecotourism and global warming such as the

‘flaring’ of oil in Nigeria¹⁰⁰, transfrontier parks, the crackdown on the illegal ivory and bush meat trade, etc. Issues such as these are mentioned in *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*, however they don’t form the central focus of the articles, but rather they are used to add depth to the features. *Africa Geographic* alternatively makes these contemporary issues of conservation and tourism the primary focus of the majority of their feature articles.

In some instances, particularly in the “Africa at a Glance’ section, an objective news discourse is adopted. For example, in an article focusing on ivory poaching in volume 14, number 5, the journalist writes: “Police have caught a ring of suspected elephant poachers believed to have been led by a former police officer. He was arrested with two accomplices after being found in possession of elephant tusks, firearms and ammunition” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 19). Whilst this news format is not used for every feature in the magazine, it forms a part of the formal discourse that is used to create more authentic and objective articles. As the editor states in volume 14, number 2, the magazine offers “hard-hitting articles” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 6) and it is clear that the goal is to provide the public with well-researched and compelling features. The use of an academic tone complements this objective.

The general linguistic style of the publication is formalized and the tone and register are academic and scholarly. For example, a journalist writing about the issue of trophy hunting in South Africa states that, “the overall economic justifications for trophy hunting have not been independently corroborated or properly investigated. South Africa is shirking its responsibilities with regard to animal issues and is instead advocating lethal international exploitation through raw commercialism” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 86). These examples indicate that the linguistic style is sophisticated. In other examples the language use is particularly scientific in terms of the vocabulary and syntax. Indeed, even the reader’s contributions selected for publication are of a more academic and formalized structure. This creates austere representations which inevitably demand a greater sense of authority. Whilst these forms of representations may

¹⁰⁰ Flaring is the process of burning off unwanted gases in oil wells or oil rigs, and in refineries, chemical plants and landfills. It releases Carbon Dioxide into the atmosphere.

be favoured by readers seeking more authoritative perspectives of Africa, Fürsich and Robins (2002) argue against the use of overly objective discourses, suggesting that these linguistic forms may conceal true representations.

In addition to this, strong language is used to advocate conservation policies. Phrases such as, “the rape of our seas” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 20) or the “slaughter of elephants” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 13, No. 11, p.17) are used in order to portray animals and the natural world as vulnerable victims of the injustices committed by human beings. Strong, emotive language is utilised to highlight the horror of animal deaths or violations of animal rights. For example in an article focusing on elephant conservation in volume 14, number 5, the journalist writes, “I imagined the forest absorbing the rapid, staccato sound of AK47s fired by soldiers acting on a general’s orders, and forest creatures scattering amid alarm calls as blood was spilt and ivory hacked from nerve-filled sockets” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 38). *Africa Geographic* tends to follow a different style and format to that of *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*, as the features often begin with a personal account or anecdote of some sort, and then they go on to describe in detail the animal or place in question in a more formal tone, they may return to the personalized narrative again to conclude the text. In this way, poignant and emotive forms may be used in order to appeal to the reader’s empathetic and sympathetic tendencies, whilst the academic and formal text which follows this offers logical and rational information to present a particular argument in relation to the installation of some form of resolution. This creates a discourse that is simultaneously emotive, poignant, authoritative, formal and scientific. Said (1978) argues that there are three types of writers that occupied the orientalist landscape in the nineteenth century. Firstly, there were those authors who wrote about the Orient in a purely scientific tone and register, secondly, Said delineates a category of writers who were similar to the former grouping, however, less willing to sacrifice eccentricity and style to impersonal orientalist definitions. Said’s third category describes those authors who journeyed to the Orient in search of fulfillment of a deeply felt or urgent project; their texts are built around this personal aesthetic. In the case of *Africa Geographic*, the writing styles are amalgamated; the personal aesthetic is combined with objective and scientific writing to produce a combination of Said’s categories.

Whilst a specific argument is presented, this is not to suggest, however, that this structure is intended to direct passive readers to some form of coerced conclusion. Rather, the argument is commonly presented in a concise and logical manner allowing the readers to disagree with the conclusions reached by the writers¹⁰¹. For example, in volume 14, number 11, a reader responds at length to an article entitled ‘A Suspended Sentence’ which was published in the previous month’s issue. The article focuses on the conflict between livestock farmers and caracals. The reader is a farmer and argues that he “would like to rectify some of the misleading assertions made...in the September issue”. (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 11, p. 8). He goes on to discuss the complexity and delicacy of the situation. A response is offered by a member of the Endangered Wildlife Trust on behalf of *Africa Geographic*. This creates a public forum that is akin to that of a public sphere. It facilitates the discussion and deliberation over contemporary issues, rather than the simple propagation of a particular viewpoint.¹⁰²

5.4.1.1 Educational Discourse

The formal and scientific tone of *Africa Geographic* also encompasses elements of educational discourse. The magazine aims to disseminate knowledge about the state of wildlife conservation in Africa, as well as provide readers with potential travel options. As a result there are many instances in which the information contained within the feature article is structured in accordance with the academic realm. Information may be presented as it would appear in an academic text, with diagrams and formally structured text. For example, in volume 14, number 3 an article about elephants depicts the anatomy of an elephant using a diagram with vectors pointing to the various distinguishing features of the elephants’ biological makeup and accompanying text to explain each of these and in volume 14, number 6 a simplified diagrammatical map shows the spread of bird flu using symbolic representation. Again, this contributes to the authoritative tone and style of the publication.

¹⁰¹ It is important to note that the contributors to *Africa Geographic* are often experts in their particular fields (for example, ecologists and geologists) rather than embodying the less authoritative role of ‘travel journalist’.

¹⁰² See section 5.4.10.2 for further discussion.

5.4.2 Interventionist Tendency: A Return to Colonial Domination

Africa Geographic attempts to advocate change through the dissemination of information and in-depth reporting and as such the magazine claims to have the authority to do so. In some instances, this projects an interventionist tendency in which the travel writers portray a need to intercede in order to improve the situation of the otherwise helpless local inhabitants. Representations such as these, although not ubiquitous in *Africa Geographic*, reflect a proclivity to convey a sense of helplessness about African people that is unjustified and overly simplified (Young, 2004). In an article entitled 'Face Value' in volume 13, number 11, the journalist describes a young African boy who had a "lively intelligent face: heart-shaped, with skin the colour of barley sugar and close-cropped hair. Huge brown eyes alight with interest" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 13, No. 11, p. 75). In this case the boy is cast as the ideal symbol of African innocence and poverty – he is transformed into a symbol for Western consumption (Spurr, 1993) and as such this representation reveals a colonizing tendency. The journalist continues with the anecdote explaining how she was surprised to discover the boy was educated and when she jokingly suggested that he come back to England with her to be a sales manager for her company, his face was "transformed with disbelief mixed with suppressed joy" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 13, No. 11, p. 75). The implication here is that the opportunity to enter a Western, capitalist world is appealing to the young boy as it offers a chance for self-improvement and development. Modernism is cast as the antidote for African poverty and hardship and is in this case, and in general, an unattainable goal for many Africans. African nations are regularly contrasted with the ideals of Western countries and are criticized for their inability to reach these standards (Spurr, 1993). In this case, the lack of modernism is depicted as a weakness. In addition to this, there are elements of ridicule as the young boy becomes excited at the prospect of the developed world. This relates to Spurr's (1993) discussion regarding the paradoxical position in which many African inhabitants find themselves as they are pressured to become modernized, yet ridiculed for acquiring traits that are considered too Western.

This colonizing tendency also applies to representations of the natural world in which intervention from outside forces is depicted as vital to the survival of a particular natural feature. *Africa Geographic* is sometimes depicted as a saviour for the impoverished masses. A journalist writes:

After one Saturday meeting with a local tour-guide group, we were treated to an exciting scene in the village as the September issue of *Africa Geographic* was enthusiastically, yet gently, passed between the villagers, with beaming faces and shouts of joy (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 10).

The magazine here is constructed as a sacred item to be cherished in the local community. However, there is an acknowledgement of the potential negative consequences of this intervention. One journalist argues that “With the best intentions (and sometimes without), we have created artificial waterholes, artificial boundaries, artificial fire policies – ultimately artificial situations in which the once-working equation of sustainability, biodiversity, natural migrations and the forces of nature has become paralysed” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 10). Another writer suggests that “if we leave things be, natural cycles will revolve” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 9, p. 8). These criticisms of the interventionist tendency are part of a more balanced and objective approach to African representations.¹⁰³

5.4.3 Descriptions of Local People: The Unfamiliar Other

Similarly to the colonizing tendency mentioned above, local African people are often described within the realm of ‘us’ and ‘them’. African cultures are portrayed in contrast to the accepted cultural norms of the *Africa Geographic* readership. For example, locals in Southern Tanzania are described in volume 14, number 2 as rural and uncivilized with “Broken-tooth smiles and weathered fish-smelling hands” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 31).

They are also depicted as uneducated and are regular marijuana smokers. In another article entitled ‘Devil’s Kitchen’, the journalist describes the local tribesmen:

¹⁰³ See section 5.4.10.1 below.

These Islamic people of Hamitic descent are infamous for their ferocity and independence. Every man carries a firearm, generally an AK-47, and has a huge knife tucked into his waistband. Until recently, killing another man and castrating him was supposedly the only route to manhood (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 7, p. 69).

In an article entitled 'Songs of Our Fathers', the journalist writes, "Every six months, Isa sacrifices a chicken and pours the blood into the sound-hole of his guitar, mixed with a few drops of green perfume" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 53). These constructions create an image of African people as savage and brutal. They represent what Spurr (1993) dubs debasement in which the cultural Other is designated by a set of values which strongly reaffirm the supposed difference between the 'natives' and the 'civilized world'. Through regular portrayals of abjection, the project of colonial discourse is perpetuated.

However, it must be noted that not all representations of local inhabitants in *Africa Geographic* subscribe to this rhetorical mode of debasement. In many instances, African people are admired for their simple, rural lifestyles. In volume 14, number 9, for example, the journalist describes how the "Young boys stayed behind to mend nets, while women and children tended to laundry or other domestic tasks before and after morning Mass" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 9, p. 68). In this instance, the locals are also affiliated with specific religious commitments. This contributes to their portrayal as simple, well-meaning people, who "exude a warm and appealing contentment" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 9, p. 73). These representations are idyllic and reflect a tendency towards stereotyping and classifying African people into idealized and often simplified categorical depictions. Spurr (1993) describes such examples as quintessential African identities embedded within discourses of naturalism. In some cases, poverty is embraced and admired for its simplistic appeal, whilst in others the problematic clash between impoverished, rural cultures and rational conservation initiatives is emphasized. Essentially, a tension seems to exist between commercial, consumerist constructions of Africa and its people, and objective and balanced reporting in which the packaging of culture is nonexistent or at least secondary to the dissemination of accurate information. This ideological conundrum requires further elaboration.

5.4.4 Touristic Packaging of African Culture

As I have mentioned above, there is an interesting conflict which exists between touristic discourses and that of the editorial policy of balanced and objective reporting. This emerges largely as a result of the magazine's editorial policy emphasizing impartial reporting which is often in disagreement with the commercial demands of a global capitalist system. *Africa Geographic* relies in part, similarly to *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*, on advertising revenue to finance its publishing costs. Hence, the magazine has created affiliations with well-known guides who conduct exclusive safaris for the parallel company *Africa Geographic Expeditions* – this organisation offers elite trips into Africa's top wildlife and birding destinations. Also included in each issue is a catalogue of "hand-picked" and highly exclusive African tourist destinations under the rubric 'Africa Geographic Special Places'. Embodied in these representations are elements of Pratt's (1992) anti-conquest in which Africa is being exploited under the guise of tourism. However, this submission to commercial demands does not reflect an exploitation of the readers, but rather it is primarily out of necessity. In volume 14, number 7, a published letter appears written by a concerned reader which outlines that a golf and trout estate advertised in the magazine is not, to the knowledge of the reader, an eco-friendly facility. The reply from the magazine's marketing and advertising business director is:

It is always difficult to balance advertising and our editorial platform of conservation and sustainable ecotourism. In an ideal world, we would be able to separate ourselves from those advertisers that don't contribute to Africa's environmental and conservation needs in some sustainable way (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 7, p. 8).

This indicates an acknowledgement of the demands of a modern capitalist society and an acceptance of the difficulties of maintaining a specific moral and ethical standing. Therefore, it is through the magazine content that the issues of eco-friendly tourism and sustainable development can be examined and well-researched information can be used in debates over policy issues, whilst the advertising in the publication reflects the global system of capitalism which places constraints on the editorial policy.

In Volume 14, number 1, an article entitled 'Searching from A to Zulu: Travels in Zululand' explores the issues of sustainable tourism and the problematic notion of cultural exploitation. The journalist begins by stating that,

Surveys in the United States and across Europe indicate that the word most often associated with Africa is 'Zulu'. Somewhat cynically, this suggests that there should be something exploitable in the combination of 'Zulu' and international tourism. And indeed there is. But, in a South Africa where cultures are redefining themselves and urbanisation continues unabated, what constitutes a 'genuine' Zulu experience? (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 1, p.32).

Zulu culture is displayed here as something which should be exploited for touristic ends in a typical perpetuation of consumerist, commercial travel discourse. However, there is less of a focus on the exploitation of cultures and natural resources for personal gain, rather the focus here rests on the community benefits of such an exploitation. Postmodern cultural identity and the role of contemporary societal structures in the construction of this identity contribute to a complex and multifaceted relationship between traditional conceptions of self and the modern tourism industry. In this case, the journalist explains how,

tourists are eased out of their comfortable coaches and herded back into the days of idyllic village life, complete with a grey-flecked *induna* (chief), beads, calabashes, Nguni cattle, cherubic babies and bare-breasted maidens... 'canned' Zulu seems to be what many tourists have been programmed to expect (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 35).

The benefits of tourism may come at the expense of sacrificing traditional beliefs and customs resulting in a 'canned' cultural existence. This represents the perplexing reality faced by many Africans coming to terms with a postmodern and postcolonial cultural identity. A progressive move towards becoming a part of the global capitalist system inevitably also involves forfeiting traditional practices and substituting them with pseudo cultural expressions designed for touristic consumption. The journalist is searching for an eclectic mix of postmodern and postcolonial Zulu cultural identity, where a sangoma has a computer and the locals wear "a blend of traditional and modern dresses" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 36). These forms of discourse represent a much more objective and balanced view of the tourism industry - inauthentic representations are not praised, but rather exposed for what they are and there is an acknowledgment of the dangerous pitfalls of the industry.

5.4.5 Travel Discourse: Contemporary Consumerist Representations

The representations of Zulu culture mentioned above can be compared to the much less critical portrayal found in volume 15, number 2, in an article focusing on Songimvelo Game Reserve in Mpumalanga. The journalist writes, “Brightly dressed in Swazi finery and accompanied by rhythmic drums and piping whistles, young men and women dance, stamp, clap and sing their way through a vibrant display of steps and routines that have been handed down for generations” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 31). In this instance, the author is not critical of the touristic display of culture, but rather it is praised. This is an example of a conventional touristic narrative. These forms of linguistic style are found amongst the more scientific and objective discourses of other articles. On some occasions the two styles may merge in an amalgamation of personal narrative and formal discourse. In volume 14, number 2, for example, the journalist writes,

It is late January 2004, mid-evening, and darkness has fallen. Using a spotlight with a red filter I have been watching a coalition of three male cheetahs on a kill of an adult male red hartebeest. One cheetah is tearing at the flesh, while his hunting partners stand back, regaining their breath. (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 24).

Use of words like ‘coalition’ and the specification of the age and sex of the animals reflect a proclivity towards formalized academic discourse. However, phrases such as “tearing at the flesh” and “darkness had fallen” do well to interpellate the reader and represent a conventional linguistic style which appeals to the commercial readership.

In other feature articles, the discourse is purely descriptive and often lavish in this regard. For example, the use of eloquent language as in: “The golden orb sinks through layers of scattered pink clouds, emitting shafts of light that strike the sea on the horizon. A honeymoon couple stands hand in hand, framed by the sloped trunks of coconut palms” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 65). This creates an idealized representation.

Often, idyllic portrayals such as this will also include scenes of spectacular flora and fauna. In volume 14, number 8, for example, the journalist writes,

We were woken by flocks of trumpeter hornbills and hadeda ibises commuting from roosting sites to feeding grounds and the chatter of vervet and samango monkeys descending to the forest floor to drink. Stately kingfishers took up their perches and stared intently as bushbuck flitted across the grassy patch in front of the tent. Just when the idyll seemed complete, a herd of eland emerged from the forest and posed at the edge of the beach (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 8, p. 28).

In this case, it is the natural fauna that is idealized as the landscape is converted into signifiers for mass consumption.

5.4.6 Respect for the Profound Natural World

This emotive and highly descriptive language is also regularly combined with an inclination to quantify animals or plants in profound and sometimes spiritual expressions. For example, in volume 14, number 6, the journalist explains that “A tree...is never just a tree, it is also a refuge, a hiding place, a philosophy, a witness, a mirror” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 8). A further example can be found in volume 15, number 2 in which the writer states: “Animals have been my saviour through the compassion they have shown me and their unconditional love. I have given to them, but I have gained far more than they have” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 48). In these examples, animals and plants are described as an indisputable part of natural life with an incomparable impact on the life of human beings. This represents what Spurr (1993) refers to as idealization in which African places are inscribed as a free reign of fulfilled desire; a reverie of exotic wish fulfillment. In this instance, idealization combines with the rhetorical mode of naturalization in a blend of spiritual and profound portrayals which embody stereotypical conceptions of Africa and its wildlife.

In addition to this, anthropomorphism is used regularly in an attempt to characterize animals and articulate them through signifiers and qualities of a human nature. In volume 14, number 9, the writer notes that “Like humans, chimpanzees have emotions similar to those we call joy, anger, grief, sorrow, pleasure, boredom and depression...[t]hey’re more similar to us than most people realise” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 9, p. 64). Similarly, in an article focusing on giraffes, the journalist expresses how

They were infinitely curious about their new surroundings: heads strained to see who was coming as a vehicle approached, long necks reached down for a sniff or a closer view of a passing delicacy. They were so graceful, gentle and tolerant that I found myself falling completely and utterly in love with them (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 6, p. 29).

Attributing emotional and personal characteristics to animals reinforces notions of colonial discourse in which processes of idealization, naturalization, aestheticization and ultimately appropriation combine to create overly simplistic and inaccurate portrayals of the African continent. In this case, animals are depicted as alluring creatures with a profound intelligence and a desire for human connection. These representations create an air of allure and serve to contrive an appealing African aesthetic; what Spurr (1993, p. 53) refers to as an “easily commodified sentimentality”.

5.4.7 Tourism, Development and the Institutional Element

Issues concerning economic and social development for rural communities through the vehicle of tourism and the installation of institutional policy are regularly discussed in *Africa Geographic*. In this light, Pratt’s (1992) concepts of transculturation and the contact zone become increasingly relevant. Many African people are ensnared in a web of transcultural, postcolonial identity creation in which a history of traditional life and colonial occupation has created hybrid identities. In these circumstances, the contact zone is a complex and fragile arena. *Africa Geographic* frequently proposes that the answer for many impoverished Africans is an acceptance of the tourism industry and the benefits of turning to tourism ventures, albeit ventures that may involve sacrificing elements of traditional cultural life. In volume 14, number 1 for example, the journalist writes: “with a bit of imagination, the tourism potential of the evocative Zulu culture is enormous” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 36). The problems involved in creating a viable tourism sector are highlighted in volume 14, number 3 – “Africa has to work hard on the image of itself that is projected to the world. The people won’t come...if they don’t feel safe or are going to be harassed by corruption and inefficiency” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 84). And the role that NGOs and policy makers have in deciding the fate of Africa’s people and places is conveyed when a writer states that “Conservancies in eastern Caprivi, with the assistance of Conservation International (CI) and Integrated Rural Development and Nature

Conservation (IRDNC), are working towards creating employment through elephant-watching tourism” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 13, No. 11, p. 26). These examples indicate a proclivity towards enhancing tourism developments at a grassroots level to encourage community development and progress. In the first instance, the role of harnessing traditional culture for the benefit of economic gain is encouraged. Many local cultures find themselves in contradictory situations and a tension arises between the pressure to enter into the modernized world and the need to maintain a lineage of cultural heritage. In some instances, the transition to a modernized, Western way of life is already complete. For example, in volume 15, number 5, the writer highlights that “Some of West Africa’s griots¹⁰⁴ have packed up their lutes¹⁰⁵ and boarded planes for Paris and New York in search of new audiences and lucrative recording contracts” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 54).

In the second extraction, Africa’s role in the global tourism industry is highlighted. Interestingly, it is the ‘image’ of Africa and its portrayal to the rest of the world that is mentioned, rather than an eradication of the problems from which the poor image may stem. This example represents a ‘conflicted contact zone’ – a space in which prospective tourists feel threatened to enter. It also highlights the importance of creating a positive image of the continent, albeit for the purpose of touristic consumption.

In the final example, I have chosen an extract which underpins the importance placed, in *Africa Geographic*, on NGOs and policy makers. Regular mention is made of such bodies often in the form of articles or reviews paid for and written by the organisations themselves. For example, ‘The Peace Parks Review’ appears regularly in *Africa Geographic* and highlights the work being done in the development of Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs). These articles adopt an advertorial style and contain opinions or information written by a manager or CEO. They may represent a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the organisations play a role in promoting

¹⁰⁴ Griots are African genealogists, “they are at once praise-singers, storytellers, poets, historians, court musicians, advisers to the chief, conveyers of marriage proposals and mediators in disputes” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 52)

¹⁰⁵ A lute is a stringed instrument.

Africa's places and people and instilling necessary conservation policies. On the other, they embody a tendency to modernize local inhabitants as the communities become engulfed in institutional policy and governmental regulations. However, there may be instances in which the local people are quoted as praising the NGOs. For example, in volume 15, number 4, A local man is quoted as saying "Fair Trade in Tourism¹⁰⁶ has helped us and our communities, '... The work Mr Moolman is doing has changed everything for the better. We now have a future here in the place where apartheid made us live'" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 4, p. 60). In this case, the work of an NGO is praised for providing job opportunities, however, a strain of colonial or oppressive discourse runs through the statement as Jurie Moolman – the owner of Djuma Game Reserve – is referred to as "Mr Moolman". He is portrayed as a superior and Gumede – one of Duma Game Reserve's guides – is depicted as the subordinate. In addition to this, Jurie Moolman and the work of the FTTSA are portrayed as saviours of the humble, rural working class.

Ultimately, it should be noted that transcultural identities and a 'conflicted contact zone' are a palpable part of travel discourses concerning Africa. In many instances, the ideal contact zone represents a space in which Western ideals of democracy and modernism are depicted as the preferred norm.

5.4.8 The Negative Side of Africa

Much of the reporting in *Africa Geographic* portrays negative aspects of African people, places and politics. This is emphasised in an article which focuses on the illegal trade of wild animals and many quotes from government officials underpin the serious institutional problems in African governance.

¹⁰⁶ Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) is an NGO which aims to promote the principles of democracy, fair share, respect, reliability, transparency and sustainability in South Africa's tourism industry (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 4).

For example, the manager of Kenya Airways in North Africa is quoted as saying,

‘We are strictly against the smuggling and want to do the right thing. But this is Africa. These things happen because of poverty. We have lots of animals, there are lots of poor people and the governments are corrupt. The customs people and authorities in airports are not exactly well taken care of, so I wouldn’t be surprised if some of them were accepting bribes and letting smugglers go through’ (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 10, p. 43).

In this same article, a quarantine manager at Cairo airport states: “‘It’s very easy in Africa to get documents, illegal papers’” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 10, p. 40). These examples embody the common Third World aesthetic of war, abjection and chaos (Spurr, 1993).

However, it must be noted that incidents of corruption and bribery in African governance are often palpable. *Africa Geographic* plays a role in the dissemination of information concerning human and animal rights abuses, as well as abuses of the legal system. The issue rests on whether or not portrayals of Africa are consistently bound with an aesthetic of war and corruption and on the extent to which issues are investigated. In the case of *Africa Geographic*, much of the reporting is concerned with promoting the work of conservationists in representations which aim towards the optimistic and positive. The coverage is also in-depth.¹⁰⁷ In this regard, one could argue against the magazine’s perpetuation of a modern colonial discourse and argue that the focus lies more in promoting balanced stories¹⁰⁸.

The issue of negative reporting about Africa is raised by a reader who is “infuriated by the extent to which *Africa Geographic* portrays Africa so negatively” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 10). The editor replies that the publication finds itself “at pains to ensure that all sections represent a balanced view” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 10). Clearly, the issue of balanced and objective reporting is of primary importance to the editorial team.

¹⁰⁷ Volume 15, number 7 is entirely dedicated to the issue of global warming and the April 2006 issue focuses explicitly on the conservation of elephants.

¹⁰⁸ See section 5.4.10.1

5.4.9 Imagery

Cover images in *Africa Geographic* typically consist of animals. The shot length is often close, with the animals' eyes in focus and the animals' face as the most salient participant. For example, in volume 15, number 8, a portrait image of a cheetah appears on the cover. The cheetah's face is made most salient through the positioning of the subject, use of framing by the text and the focus of the image. The lighting is natural and the image makes use of a sensory coding orientation¹⁰⁹ in which the 'pleasure principle' is dominant. Many of the images in *Africa Geographic* follow this trend and they typically place animals on 'offer' for the admiration of the viewer. This essentially packages African wildlife for viewers and readers.

However, there are other instances in which the typical mold is broken. For example, in volume 15, number 7, a representational map of Africa showing the distribution of fires across the continent over a 10 year period is shown. The map depicts the continent with red and orange dots representing fires; areas not affected are given a dull grey colour. Initially, it is not explicitly clear what the image represents, however, the text indicates that it must have something to do with climate change as it reads "Africa in the Firing Line" and "Our Overheating Planet". This diagrammatical representation highlights the objective and formal aspects of *Africa Geographic* as it interpellates a specific educated audience.

5.4.10 Active Strategy

Similarly to *Travel Africa* and *Getaway*, *Africa Geographic* displays what I have been referring to as active strategies for change in which conventional writing styles, structures and imagery are used to convey a more balanced perspective of Africa. The publication as a whole adopts a style and structure that is more balanced and objective in comparison to the other magazines. I would, however, like to point out some of the more specific strategies used to combat the traditional mold of travel discourse.

¹⁰⁹ See glossary on pages 174-176.

5.4.10.1 Objective and Balanced Reporting

In an article in volume 14, number 2, entitled 'Back in the Hunt', the journalist presents a detailed account of the current developments in the South African hunting industry. The writing style is akin to investigative journalism and a report is constructed from prolonged research into the issue. In addition to this report on trophy hunting, a regular column appears in *Africa Geographic* examining the issue of 'canned hunting' in South Africa. Both of these examples reflect in-depth reporting that goes beyond simple travel narratives. This focus aims to bring about social change, as the journalist states in the article 'Back in the Hunt', "Hunters need to change the way they think" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 53). This journalistic format represents a more balanced and objective approach; a linguistic style that undoubtedly subverts traditional, personally-driven travel narratives. This is highlighted further in volume 14, number 7 in an article concerning the drought in Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe. The journalist points out that "Such is the nature of Zimbabwe's present woes that almost any story emanating from the country is depicted as a catastrophe. But in this instance, that wasn't the case" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 7, p. 32).¹¹⁰

It must be noted, however that certain words and phrases are used in order to elicit a specific response from the audience. For example, in the article mentioned above concerning the hunting industry, the word "slaughtered" (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 49) is used rather than 'kill' or 'put to death'. In addition to this, images of caged lions are intended to contribute to the emotional appeal, conveying the practice as unethical and cruel. This is intended to elude a particular response from the readership and represents a discursive construction that often borders on abjection (Spurr, 1993).

¹¹⁰ Note that *Getaway* magazine also covered the issue of drought in this park. They created a trust fund called "Friends of Hwange" with the intention of sending relief to the park's overworked staff, as well as providing a workforce and the necessary funds to repair the broken water pumps. This focus emphasised to a much greater degree the responsibility of the government and their failure in this regard.

5.4.10.2 ‘Viewpoint’ and the Public Sphere

The section entitled ‘Viewpoint’ in *Africa Geographic* offers readers a chance to comment on various aspects of the magazine. The publisher describes the section as:

a column designed to allow readers to voice their opinions, comments, questions or concerns and observations. You are welcome to submit your contribution for publication, restricting your submission to no more than 200 words. Submissions may be edited for reasons of clarity or limitations on space (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 3, p. 9).

As I have mentioned above (in section 5.13) this constitutes a public sphere; a realm within which readers can debate and discuss issues of general concern and form opinions through these deliberations (Giddens, 2001). As Giddens (2001, p. 462) notes “The public sphere – at least in principle – involves individuals coming together as equals in a forum for public debate”. Often readers will send in comments concerning specific articles published in the magazine. The editor may choose to respond to these letters. Whilst it is clear that the selection of letters published is ultimately the choice of the editor and, as such, many readers may be excluded from this public discussion arena, many letters are published which reflect negative perceptions of the magazine and question its editorial policy. For example, in response to an article in volume 14, number 6, a reader requested that *Africa Geographic* “please get [their] facts straight” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 6, p. 8). These forms of feedback loops are integral to an active strategy of balanced representation.

5.4.10.3 Dispelling the Myth

I have mentioned on several occasions, the tendency of *Africa Geographic* to present information in a candid and straightforward fashion. This journalistic style contributes towards dispelling common myths concerning the African continent.

In volume 14, number 11, an article focusing on Ethiopia serves to eradicate commonly held misconceptions about the country. The journalist writes,

It's been 20 years since the image of a starving nation hit TV screens and inspired a chart-topping single, and yet the perception of Ethiopia as a land of deprivation, drought and famine persists. Nothing could be further from the truth (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 11, p. 44).

The article goes on to highlight the positive aspects of a trip to the country, including “a profound, rather time-warped sense of otherness” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 11, p. 47) and “some of Africa’s most rewarding off-the-beaten track hiking opportunities” (*Africa Geographic*, Vol. 14, No. 11, p. 51). These representations serve to dispel previously-held misconceptions about Ethiopia and its people and offer alternative understandings.

5.5 Conclusion

In *Travel Africa* specific discursive frameworks are used within travel journalism in order to package and commodify Africa for prospective Western travelers. Stereotypes of African people, places and politics are enforced in order to convert Africa into signifiers for the travelers’ eye. Questions are raised regarding the authority of Western travel journalists to portray the continent through the lens of commercial consumption. Spurr’s (1993) conception of the ‘commanding view’ finds itself deeply embedded within contemporary travel discourse. In some instances, language is used to ‘negate’ African people and places, as Western countries are constructed as the ideal norm to which all developing nations must strive to equal.

Getaway makes use of a more colloquial language style and this contributes towards interpellating a specific white South African audience and creating discourses of stereotypical cultural identities. In addition to this, romanticized language is used in order to perpetuate contemporary colonial discourse, as nostalgic spiritual connections are made to an oppressive past. This publication is deeply ensnared within discourses of consumerist, commercial travel.

Africa Geographic is more objective than the other two publications; however, there are still elements of a packaging of culture and a continuation of colonial discourse. The magazine shows an interventionist tendency, in which the discourses of the colonial era are maintained as Africa

is cast as a helpless continent in need of aid from Western nations. Spurr's (1993) rhetorical mode of naturalization is observed in *Africa Geographic* as local people are portrayed in a strong relationship with the natural world.

However, it is also evident that all three magazine show specific elements which subvert traditional journalistic practice and suggest ways in which travel journalism can be used to portray balanced and fair representations of Africa. These include specific linguistic or narrative techniques, the creation of a public sphere through reader's letters, features that make use of balanced and fair reporting and imagery that strays from the conventional images found in travel texts.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, I have outlined, with the aid of a postcolonial paradigm, the manner in which Africa is discursively constructed in travel journalism texts with a particular focus on the travel magazines *Travel Africa*, *Getaway*, and *Africa Geographic*. I have conducted a content analysis in order to explore basic textual patterns and trends within the feature articles. In Chapter five I elaborated on these findings in more detail and described the manner in which contemporary descriptions of Africa parallel the oppressive discourses of the former colonial era, through specific linguistic representations.

Through the construction of specific discursive frameworks within travel journalism, Africa is packaged and commodified for prospective Western travelers. Stereotypes of African people, places and politics are enforced in order to convert Africa into signifiers for the travelers' eye. This inevitably raises concerns regarding the authority of travel journalists to portray the continent through the lens of commercial consumption. Spurr's (1993) conception of the 'commanding view' finds itself deeply embedded within contemporary travel discourse. In addition to this, the authenticity of African representations in travel journalism must be considered. As Chinua Achebe (2000) argues Africans should not be denied the right to speak. In many instances the important right of Africans to tell their own stories is suppressed.

Touristic understandings of what constitutes 'real' African experiences are underpinned and portrayed through eloquent and articulate descriptions or imagery which interpellates the prospective Western traveler. To borrow Spurr's (1992) terminology Africa is portrayed as 'absence' metaphorically or through the rhetorical strategy of negation in an attempt to create a void which can only be filled through intervention by 'the civilized'. This interventionist tendency is most prevalent in *Africa Geographic*, although it must be acknowledged that the publication attempts to increase awareness of contemporary issues in an effort to develop the continent. This simultaneously aids in Africa's progress and its demise, as stereotypical constructions of Africa as a land of chaos and abject poverty are reinforced and the Western

model of democracy is instilled as the international standard to which all developing nations must adhere.

In addition to this, discourses of the romantic and exotic are used in order to construct Africa within a commercial and consumerist aesthetic. In a reworking of Pratt's Monarch-of-all-I-See-Scene, the three strategies or conventional means used by travel writers - estheticization, density of meaning and domination – are prevalent as Africa is constructed as a discursive commodity. In many instances, this construction also involves masking or concealing the reality of the travel and tourism industry and as such reflects elements of anti-conquest, as the institutional role of a capitalist global system and the ulterior motives of the magazines, particularly with reference to the touring companies that operate alongside the publications, combine to conceal the true nature of travel journalism behind eloquent personal travel narratives.

All of the publications deal with issues of identity. *Africa Geographic* often describes local people and on some occasions portrays them as detached Others through the rhetorical modes of naturalization and aestheticization. In addition to this, this magazine attempts to offer solutions to African problems through community development programs, which in some instances are depicted as undeniably necessary interventions. *Getaway* and *Travel Africa* produce feature articles that make extensive use of a first person narrative style of writing. This grants the travel writer a privileged perspective or a commanding view over the often subordinated subjects. *Getaway* also describes quintessential (South) African identities through a particular language style which interpellates a white South African audience. Colloquialisms and slang are combined to create a conversational tone which appeals to the reader at a social level. However, this writing style draws distinction between 'us' and 'them', as white South Africans are placed within an inclusive group.

Thus far, I have focused on the problematic elements of portrayals of Africa in travel journalism. However, it would be overly simplistic to be completely critical of a field which undoubtedly

holds many positive aspects. Firstly, as was observed in the content analysis, the magazines make more use of positive descriptive adjectives concerning the Africa continent, rather than disseminating negative portrayals. On occasion, these representations do reflect a commercial consumerist packaging of Africa culture, however, they nonetheless focus on the positive aspects of the continent.

Secondly, *Travel Africa*, *Getaway* and *Africa Geographic* all offer active systematic proposals to foster change and appeal to audiences to trans-code representations, a notion that postcolonial theorist Elfriede Fürsich (2002) has discussed in studies focusing on television travel journalism. I am arguing that in some instances the travel journalists challenge conventional, traditional journalistic practices in order to create more balanced representations of the African continent. It is these forms of writing that can harness social change and represent African people, places and politics in alternative depictions. These strategies may include various narrative or linguistic techniques such as an altering of the conventional, commercial travel discourse, or an increased and liberated feedback loop with readers. If travel journalism is to move away from the commercial packaging of culture for touristic consumption, then it is these strategies for change that must be incorporated.

The reader's letters in each case revealed a definite feedback loop which can function as a form of public sphere, allowing readers to contribute to the discourses of the magazines and ultimately to transform misconceptions or stereotypical notions. In addition to this, the editor or publisher's letters in each instance reflect a chance for a personalized narrative to adopt a broader approach and to transcode previously-held conceptions.

In addition to this, journalists can (and do) make use of more balanced approaches to representing Africa. Not all of the articles are embedded within discourses that are stereotypical and follow a specific mold. Some features break the traditional conventions of travel journalism

through portrayals that are balanced and fair. Typical myths of the continent can be shown to be false and misconceptions can be rectified.

Particular linguistic techniques are also adopted in order to break the traditional structures of journalism. In some instances articles are transcribed as interviews, or multiple authors co-write a particular feature allowing for the introduction of multiple voices. Local people may be quoted in earnest, in their own words or language, rather than through misconceived understandings.

Ultimately, *Africa Geographic*'s style of objective and balanced reporting ensures that the publication *appears* to be portraying positive conceptions of Africa. In many instances, this may be true, however, through particular linguistic devices, stereotypes and discourses of Africa as underdeveloped and impoverished may prevail. *Getaway* adopts a tone that is significantly more conversational than the other two magazines. This can serve a useful function as it can appeal to an audience that is of a slightly lower class and education level to that of *Africa Geographic*; yet it can still raise important contemporary issues, such as sustainable development and cultural tourism. However, *Getaway* is concerned largely with packaging African culture in order to appeal to the commercial interests of travellers. *Travel Africa* also makes use of personalized travel narratives, however, they are significantly less conversational in nature. In many instances, *Travel Africa*, is overly praising of the African continent, as they try to dispel myths concerning African people and places. Africa is also constructed largely as a wild and primitive place in this publication, as this creates an increased appeal and allure for Western prospective travellers.

I intend my research findings to contribute to the underdeveloped field of communication and cultural studies concerning travel journalism. However, it must be acknowledged that the nature of the research (textual) implies that the results should not be overly generalized, but rather, they should be considered within the context of the magazines in question. Further research may expand and elaborate on the findings of my study. Ethnographic research into the impact of travel journalism on particular societal segments will contribute useful understandings of the manner in which people actually read travel texts.

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APPENDIX A: ADDITIONAL DATA

Table A1: Average Article Length

Magazine	Average Article Length per words
<i>Travel Africa</i>	1790.513
<i>Getaway</i>	1876.245
<i>Africa Geographic</i>	2257.378
Representative Sample Calculations	Word Length for Representative Sample
<i>Travel Africa</i> - 77 x 1790	137830
<i>Getaway</i> - 74 x 1876	138824
<i>Africa Geographic</i> - 61 x 2257	137677

Diagram A1: Representation of Research Questions

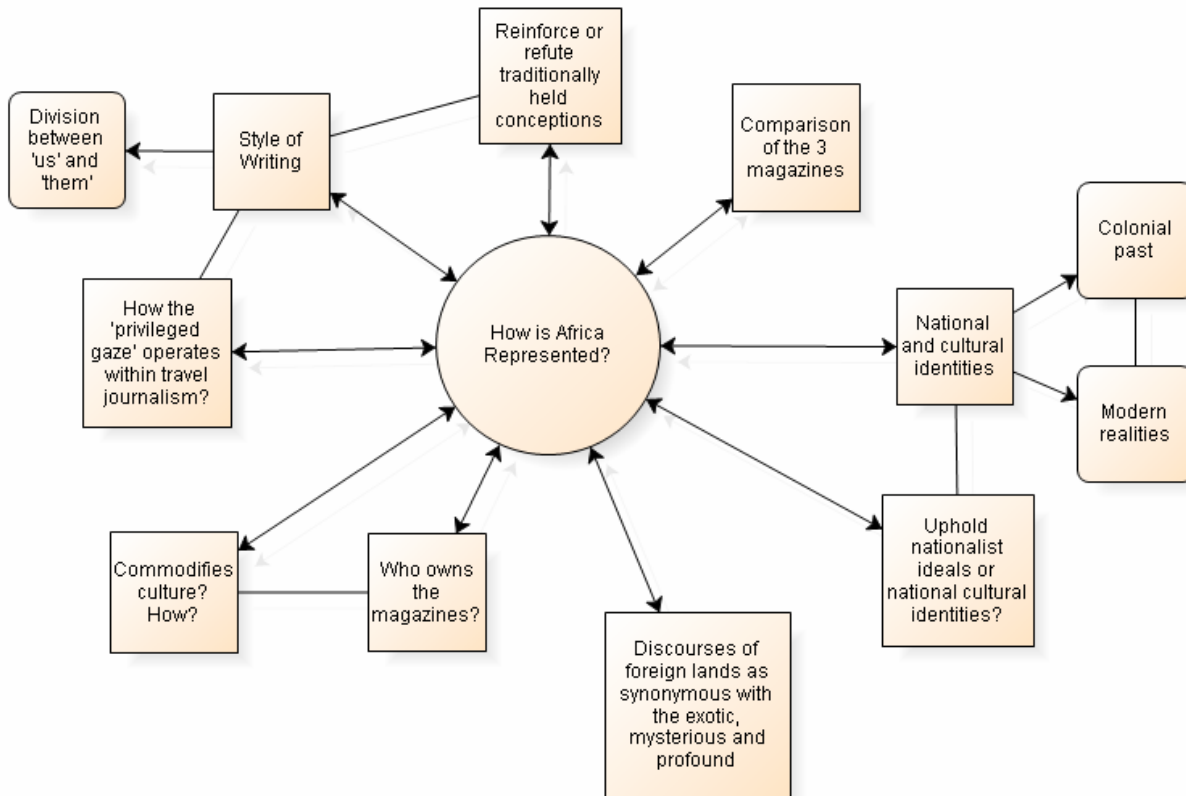


Table A2: Attribute Summary Report – ‘Types of Articles’*

Attribute Values	Total Count
Not Applicable	0
Personal These narratives are written in the first person and outline the personal experience of travel from the journalist's perspective	177
Conservation These articles are more objective and scientific in nature focusing on providing in-depth information concerning issues of conservation	38
Informative Travel These articles supply information about travel destinations, but are not personalized accounts	101
Cultural Practices These articles focus specifically on disseminating information about a particular culture; the culture or cultural practice must be the central focus of the article	8
Animals Informative articles about animals in which the animal is the primary focus and the intention is to disseminate information about that animal's characteristics (feeding habits, behavior, etc.)	28
Community Informative articles dealing with community projects and initiatives	6
Profile Pieces Profile Pieces involve any article that has a specific focus on a particular person and the core focus of the articles is on ‘telling the story’ of the featured person	18
Photography Photography Tips and articles focusing explicitly on photography	3
Scientific Informative These articles are more objective and scientific in nature focusing on providing in-depth information concerning issues other than animals/culture/travel	3
Other Any other articles	1

*Note that the data for this tables is taken from the full sample of texts, not the representative sample.

Table A3: Attribute Summary – ‘Countries’

Attribute Values	Total Count
Not Applicable	42
South Africa	182
Botswana	12
Zimbabwe	7
Namibia	14
Tanzania	12
Kenya	13
Mozambique	10
Lesotho	1
Swaziland	2
Zambia	9
Uganda	3
Congo	1
Egypt	3
Morocco	5
Ghana	1
Ethiopia	4
Nigeria	2
Madagascar	6
Mali	1
Libya	1
The Gambia	3
Benin	1
Sierra Leone	1
Niger	2
Malawi	3
Cape Verde	1
Réunion	1
Mauritius	1
Eritrea	1
Rwanda	2
São Tomé & Príncipe	1
Gabon	2
Cameroon	1
Burkina Faso	2
Tunisia	1
Other	4
Multiple countries	25

Table A4: Distribution of Countries across the Representative Sample

	<i>Africa Geographic Representative Sample</i>	<i>Getaway Representative Sample</i>	<i>Travel Africa Representative Sample</i>
Not Applicable	17	2	8
South Africa	13	57	12
Botswana	1	1	5
Zimbabwe	2	0	3
Namibia	1	1	7
Tanzania	3	0	6
Kenya	1	0	7
Mozambique	0	3	3
Lesotho	0	0	0
Swaziland	0	0	0
Zambia	3	1	3
Uganda	2	0	1
Congo	1	0	0
Egypt	0	0	1
Morocco	2	1	1
Ghana	0	0	1
Ethiopia	2	0	1
Nigeria	1	0	1
Madagascar	2	0	1
Mali	0	0	1
Libya	0	0	1
The Gambia	1	0	1
Benin	0	0	1
Sierra Leone	0	0	1
Niger	0	0	1
Malawi	0	1	2
Cape Verde	0	0	1
Réunion	0	1	0
Mauritius	0	0	0
Eritrea	0	0	1
Rwanda	0	0	1
São Tomé & Príncipe	1	0	0
Gabon	1	0	1
Cameroon	1	0	0
Burkina Faso	1	0	1
Tunisia	1	0	0
Other	0	2	0
Multiple countries	4	4	3

Table A5: Text Search Criteria

Table A5: Text Search Criteria

	Query	Criteria
1.1	Africa as Impoverished	Poor OR lacking OR deprived OR destitute OR impoverished OR underprivileged OR disadvantaged OR poverty OR indigent OR famine OR impecunious OR scarcity OR drought OR underequipped
1.2	Africa as Mysterious and Exotic	Secret OR profound OR mysterious OR mystical OR spiritual OR enigmatic OR exotic OR primal OR strange OR bizarre OR hidden OR grotesque OR unfamiliar OR unusual OR peculiar OR unexplained OR unknown OR unconventional OR sacred OR consecrated OR blessed OR hallowed OR sanctified
1.3	Africa as Remote and Wild	unexplored OR undiscovered OR remote OR remotely OR remoteness OR distant OR faraway OR secluded OR seclusion OR solitary OR detached OR detachment OR isolated OR isolation OR wild OR wilds OR untamed OR uninhabited OR unspoilt OR unspoiled OR hideaway OR hideaways OR untouched OR unrestricted OR impenetrable OR wilderness OR deserted OR unoccupied OR barbaric OR uncivilised OR uncivilized OR raw OR "off the beaten track" OR uncultivated NOT "Wild Frontiers" NOT "distant future" NOT "Wildlife Fund" NOT "Wildlife Federation" NOT "Wild Side" NOT "Wildlife department" NOT "Wild Coast" NOT "raw ivory" NOT "Wilderness safaris" NOT "Wilderness Trust" NOT "Wild International" NOT "remote monitoring" NOT "remote camera trap" NOT "Wildlife management" NOT "raw egg" NOT "raw food" NOT "Wild Horizons" NOT "considered in isolation" NOT "raw veggie"
1.4	African Development and Progress	development OR progress OR growth OR expansion OR improvement OR sustainable
1.5	Big Five	lion OR lions OR lioness OR leopard OR leopards OR elephant OR elephants OR rhino OR rhinos OR buffalo OR buffalos OR rhinoceros NOT "leopard tortoise" NOT "ant lion" NOT "leopard ray" NOT "rhino beetle" NOT "elephant shrew" NOT "buffalo weaver" NOT "leopard tortoises" NOT "ant lions" NOT "leopard rays" NOT "rhino beetles" NOT "elephant shrews" NOT "buffalo weavers"
1.7	Colloquial Language	braai, ja, ya, yip, bru, boet, jislaiik, bloody, kingies, brekkie, ah, aai, cos, bout, nah, stoked, harregat, Nooit, ous, fella, fellas, stoep, ballie, jol, dorp, skop, schlep, bakkie, bakgat, ag, bliksem, bra, bok, bokke, gatvol, dop, gooi, kak, kiff, lekker, lekka, mal, moer, oom, tannie, oupa, ouma, braaiing, braais, nooit, stoeps, ballies, jols, dorpies, dorpie, skopped, bakkies, tannies, oupas, oumas
1.8	Colours	blue, red, green, yellow, black, white, orange, violet, purple, Azure, Aqua, Crimson, Cyan, Gold, Magenta, Pink, Turquoise, cobalt, sapphire, indigo, navy, scarlet, cherry, olive, jade, mauve, lilac, ginger
1.9	Community	community OR communities OR communal OR communally
1.10	Crimes	treason, homicide, murder, manslaughter, assault, rape, battery, mayhem, larceny, theft, robbery, burglary, holdup, mugging, kidnapping, swindling, arson, defrauding, embezzlement, smuggling, extortion, bribery, libel, perjury, conspiracy, counterfeiting, treason, sedition

Table A5: Text Search Criteria

1.11	Descriptions of Size - Big	big OR biggest OR bigger OR large OR largest OR larger OR huge OR hugely OR massive OR massively OR giant OR vast OR vastly OR immense OR immensely OR colossal OR enormous OR enormity OR enormously OR expansive OR expansively OR undulating OR open OR openness OR panoramic OR broad OR broadly OR tall OR taller OR tallest OR wide OR wider OR widest OR sweeping OR towering OR gigantic OR gigantically OR massiveness OR vastness OR immensity OR expansiveness OR undulate OR broadness NOT "vast majority"
1.12	Descriptions of Size - Small	small OR little OR tiny OR puny OR miniscule OR diminutive OR miniature OR petite OR wee OR teeny OR Scrawny OR teeny-tiny OR diminutive OR mini OR short OR dainty
1.13	Descriptive Adjectives - Negative	hideous OR hideously OR deformed OR repulsive OR repulsively OR ugly OR ghastly OR grisly OR frightful OR frightfully OR hateful OR revolting OR unsightly OR loathsome OR unseemly OR deformed OR disfigured OR foul OR horrid OR horridly OR repellent OR unlovely OR appalling OR appallingly OR misshapen OR misbegotten OR odious OR odiously OR vile OR dirty OR filthy OR sordid OR sordidly OR messy OR sickening OR unpleasant OR unpleasantly OR unattractive OR repugnant OR repugnantly OR smoggy OR grotesque OR violent OR violently OR devastating OR suffering OR exploited OR bloody OR unforgiving OR treacherous OR scorching OR neglected OR horrible OR horrifying OR atrocious OR dreadful OR awful OR dirtily OR sickeningly OR unattractively OR grotesquely OR devastatingly OR treacherously OR atrociously OR dreadfully
1.14	Descriptive Adjectives - Positive	Amazing OR Awesome OR Excellent OR Fabulous OR fabulously OR Fantastic OR Great OR Incredible OR Incredibly OR Outstanding OR Remarkable OR remarkably OR Spectacular OR spectacularly OR Splendid OR splendidly OR wonderful OR wonderfully OR magnificent OR magnificently OR astounding OR astoundingly OR exclusive OR exclusively OR stunning OR luxurious OR luxuriously OR peaceful OR peacefully OR amazing OR amazingly OR breathtaking OR breathtakingly OR beautiful OR beautifully OR idyllic OR exceptional OR exceptionally OR serene OR scenic OR tranquil OR superb OR superbly OR sensational OR sensationally OR brilliant OR brilliantly OR unparalleled OR exquisite OR exquisitely OR pristine OR delightful OR pleasant OR enchanting OR striking OR radiant OR lovely OR attractive OR pretty OR charming OR dazzling OR superb OR heavenly OR delightfully OR pleasantly OR enchantingly OR strikingly OR radiantly
1.15	Illegal Activity	Corruption, corrupt, corrupting, fraud, fraudulent, fraudster, crime, criminal, crimes, criminals, felony, felon, felons, smuggling, smuggle, smuggled, illegal, illegally, "black market", "Bushmeat trade", unlawful, unlawfulness, "against the law", criminality, smuggles, offense, trafficking, bribes, bribery, bribing, "breaking laws", "breaking the law", crooked, "criminal offence", felonious, transgression, depravity, violation
1.16	Local People	locals OR "local people" OR "local inhabitants" OR "local cultures" OR "local groups" OR "local population" OR "local populations" OR "indigenous people" OR "indigenous inhabitants" OR "indigenous groups" OR "indigenous groups" OR "indigenous culture" OR "indigenous cultures"
1.17	Recognisable Animals	hippopotamus OR wildebeest OR "African wild dog" OR giraffe OR zebra OR cheetah OR crocodile OR gorilla OR chimpanzees OR hyena OR "vervet monkey" OR "wild dog" OR "wild dogs" OR hippo OR hippos OR chimp OR chimps OR hyaena OR "African wild dogs" OR Hyeanas OR hyenas OR "vervet monkeys" OR chimpanzee OR gorillas OR hippopotamuses OR wildebeests OR zebras OR

Table A5: Text Search Criteria

		cheetahs OR crocodiles
1.18	Sensory Descriptions - Smell	perfumed, acrid, putrid, smelly, reeking, noxious, pungent, aromatic, fragrant, scented, musty, rancid, rotten, stale, stinky, smell, sniff, fumes, musth, smoke, olfactory, mouldy, musky, odor, bouquet, stench, whiff, odour, moldy, sulphurous, fetid, fetor, malodourous, pongy, NOT must
1.19	Sensory Descriptions - Sound	Blaring, Cooing, Deafening, Loud, Melancholic, Noisy, Shrill, Squeaking, Silent, Thundering, Whispering, screaming, shouting, quiet, rowdy, faint, muffled, mute, hushed, bang, buzz, crackling, crash, crunching, groan, growl, gurgling, haw, hiss, hoarse, howl, husky, lapping, melodious, moan, mumble, murmur, mutter, pealing, purring, raspy, reverberating, rumble, rustle, screech, shriek, snapping, snarl, snort, splash, squeal, thud, thump, tinkle, wail, whimper, whine, whistling, hear, clamour, ringing, beeping, earsplitting, clamorous, buzzing, clank, creaky, roaring, hollering, bellow, yelling, exclaiming, babble, raucous, smothered, quiesced, blast, knock, slam, smash, clang, mash, munch, weep, grumble, rumble, bubbling, whoosh, fizzle, hoot, snort, gruff, wail, yawl, swishing, tuneful, musical, croak, gnarl, whizzing, whirring, resonating, squawk, tearing, clicking, splatter, slosh, splosh, squelch, clunk, clink, sing, hum, blather, bam, trumpeted, NOT lap NOT ring NOT singed NOT tuned NOT bubbles NOT bubble
1.20	Sensory Descriptions - Taste	Bitter, Delicious, Juicy, Spicy, Sour, Tasty, Tasteless, flavourless, acidic, savoury, savory, delectable, yummy, bland, insipid, vapid, palatable, luscious, appetizing, watery, gooey, nutty, peppery, ripe, tangy, tart, taste, scrumptious, acerbic, fermented, saucy, dine, piquant, bittersweet, full?bodied, fruity, savour, zesty NOT stick NOT water NOT cream NOT nut NOT acid NOT appetite
1.21	Sensory Descriptions – Touch	Loose, Rough, Smooth, Slippery, Sticky, Sharp, Tender, Uneven, Wet, soft, silky, velvety, bumpy, grainy, coarse, abrasive, scaly, lepidote, polished, glossy, lumpy, wiry, stringy, sinewy, scratchy, glassy, firm, gummy, viscous, syrupy, moist, damp, flaccid, flabby, touch, rub, caress, taut, greasy, oily, prickly, lax, gravelly, glutinous, viscid, stiff, slick, jolted, jumpy, chunky, soft, bristly, thorny, barbed, NOT scale NOT polish
1.22	Similies	like NOT "I like" NOT "we like" NOT "if you like" NOT "looks like" NOT "we feel like" NOT "he feels like" NOT "she feels like" NOT "you'd like" NOT "you would like" NOT "they would like" NOT "they'd like" NOT "she would like" NOT "he would like" NOT "he'd like" NOT "she'd like" NOT "do not like" NOT "don't like" NOT "would not like" NOT "don't feel like" NOT "really like that" NOT "anything like this" NOT "if you feel like" NOT "do not feel like" NOT "look like" NOT "did not like" NOT "didn't like"
1.23	Subject Positions - 'I'	I
1.24	Subject Positions - 'we'	we
1.25	Subject Positions - 'you'	you

Data Sheet Number: Content Analysis of Images – Data Sheet																																				
Initial of Researcher:								Magazine:								Vol.								No.												
	Double Page							Page and a Half							1 Page							≥½ Page							< ½ Page							Total
Animals and Plants																																				
Big Five	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Recognizable African Animals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Plant Life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Marine Life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Birdlife	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Animals and People	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8																												

Table A6: Data Sheet for Image Analysis

	Double Page							Page and a Half							1 Page							≥½ Page							< ½ Page							Total
Conservation People	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Vehicles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Artefacts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Food	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Natural Places																																				
Natural Landscapes/ scenic shots	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and animals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and big five animals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and buildings/vehicles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Traditional Buildings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Rural Settings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	

Table A6: Data Sheet for Image Analysis

	Double Page							Page and a Half							1 Page							≥½ Page							< ½ Page							Total
Urban/City Places																																				
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots and people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Tourist buildings and acc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Diagrams																																				
Any form of diagram	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Maps	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Other																																				
Any other images	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Total																																				

Table A7: Explanations of Image Analysis Categories

Animals and Plants	
Big Five	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion, Leopard, Elephant, Buffalo, Rhino (black and white) • Any image containing these animals wherein the category animal is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics
Recognizable African Animals (exc. Big Five)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hippopotamus, wildebeest, African wild dog, giraffe, zebra, cheetah, crocodile, gorilla, chimpanzee, hyena, vervet monkey • Any image containing these animals wherein the category animal is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics
Plant Life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any image containing any plants wherein the plant is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Marine Life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any image containing any marine animals and/or marine settings wherein the category animal/setting is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.) • Note that images containing people in marine settings (scuba divers, etc.) will still fall under <u>this category</u>
Birdlife	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any image containing any bird wherein the bird is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Animals and People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any image containing people and animals in any form of interaction • This includes images of people on safari wherein it is explicitly clear that the people are viewing game • This also includes any animals in noticeably unnatural situations, such as cages or enclosures that are visible • This also includes landscape images in which the animals and people are the subject of the image
Big Five Animals and People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any image containing people and big five animals in any form of interaction • This includes images of people on safari wherein it is explicitly clear that they people are viewing game • This also includes landscape images in which the animals and people are the subject of the image • This also includes any big five animals in noticeably unnatural situations, such as cages or enclosures that are visible

Table A7: Explanations of Image Analysis Categories

Other Animals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing any animals not listed above, or which do not fall into any of the following sections Any image containing these animals wherein the category animal is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics
People	
Trad. people in daily routines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing African people who live in rural/traditional environments in which the person/people are portrayed performing traditional/daily/routine tasks The person/people must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Portraits of African people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing traditional/rural African people in which the person/people are portrayed through the convention of portraiture The image must adhere to the qualifications of a photographic portrait This excludes portraits of recognizable African people which would fall into the category 'Recognizable Figures' below
Travellers on Holiday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which people are portrayed engaging in holiday activities excluding extreme sports and safari activities It must be explicitly clear that the travellers are in fact engaging in touristic activities The person/people must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
People and Extreme Sports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which people are portrayed engaging in extreme sporting (or adrenaline) activities These include white water rafting, bungee jumping, mountain climbing, surfing, paragliding, etc.
Recognizable Figures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which the subject(s) is (are) recognizable figures This includes portrait photographs The person/people must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Conservation People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing people who are involved in conservation initiatives or who work n the conservation field (eg. game rangers, etc.) It must be explicitly clear that they work within the conservation field The person/people must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or faming

Table A7: Explanations of Image Analysis Categories

	and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing food wherein it is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics
Vehicles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing vehicles wherein any vehicle (including planes, ships, motorbikes, etc.) is dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics
Artefacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing artefacts that serve as traces of human existence This includes images of rock paintings, primitive tools, decorative artefacts, functional artefacts, jewelry, etc. The artefact must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics
Other People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image containing other people in any scenario not already defined in these categories They must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics
Natural Places	
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which a natural landscape or a scenic image is the primary subject(s) In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length (in the case of landscape photographs) or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below These images do not contain any elements of human encroachment such as buildings or roads The landscape must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which a natural landscape or a scenic image combined with people forms the primary subject In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length (in the case of landscape photographs) or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below The landscape and people must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)

Table A7: Explanations of Image Analysis Categories

Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and animals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which a natural landscape or a scenic image combined with animals forms the primary subjects In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below The landscape and animals must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and big five animals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which a natural landscape or a scenic image combined with big five animals forms the primary subjects In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below The landscape and big five animal(s) must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and buildings/vehicles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which a natural landscape or a scenic image combined with vehicles or buildings form the primary subjects In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below The landscape and buildings/vehicles must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Traditional Buildings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which traditional buildings makeup the primary subjects of the shot. The buildings must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Rural Settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which a rural setting is dominant in terms of positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.) The settings must be dominant rather the people, or landscape, etc.
Urban/City Places	
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which an urban landscape or a scenic image are the primary subject(s) In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below The landscape must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing

Table A7: Explanations of Image Analysis Categories

	and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots and people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which an urban landscape or a scenic image combined with people forms the primary subjects In the case of images which contain other category subjects, the image must contain a long shot length or the subject matter must be made salient through the devices labeled below The landscape and people must be dominant in terms of numbers and/or positioning and/or framing and/or photographic characteristics (focus, shot composition, etc.)
Tourist buildings and accommodation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any image in which tourist buildings or accommodation are the primary subject This includes tourist lodges, hotels, chalets, etc. The image can focus on the outside or inside of the building, as long as the focus is on showcasing the accommodation
Diagrams	
Any form of diagram	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This includes any form of representational diagram This can include animations as well
Maps	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This includes any maps
Other	
Any other images	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any other image not included in any of the above categories

Table A8: Image Analysis Raw Data – *Travel Africa*

Travel Africa	Double Page	Page & a Half	1 Page	≥½ Page	< ½ Page	Total
<u>Animals and Plants</u>						
Big Five	2	1	3	8	34	48
Recognizable African Animals	2	1	2	7	33	45
Plant Life	1	0	0	2	7	10
Marine Life	0	0	1	2	10	13
Birdlife	0	1	0	1	13	15
Other Animals	2	0	4	6	38	50
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and big five animals	1	0	1	1	7	10
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and animals	0	0	0	2	5	7
Sub Total	8	3	11	29	147	198
<u>Animals and People</u>						
Animals and People	0	0	0	4	16	20
Big Five Animals and People	0	0	1	1	9	11
Sub Total	0	0	1	5	25	31
<u>People</u>						
Trad. people in daily routines	0	0	0	1	11	12
Portraits of African people	1	0	5	9	43	58
Travellers on Holiday	0	0	1	2	22	25
People and Extreme Sports	0	0	1	2	11	14
Recognizable Figures	1	1	1	3	10	16
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and people	4	1	5	9	44	63
Conservation People	0	0	0	0	6	6
Other People	1	0	2	1	21	25
Sub Total	7	2	15	27	168	219
<u>Natural Places</u>						
Natural Landscapes/ scenic shots	4	1	1	7	55	68
Sub Total	4	1	1	7	55	68
<u>Urban/City Places</u>						
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots	1	1	1	7	17	27
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots and people	1	0	1	0	1	3
Sub Total	2	1	2	7	18	30
<u>Buildings/Vehicles</u>						
Tourist buildings and acc.	1	0	0	0	40	41
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and buildings/vehicles	2	0	1	6	23	32
Traditional Buildings	0	1	0	1	5	7
Vehicles	1	0	0	1	9	11
Sub Total	4	1	1	8	77	91
<u>Diagrams</u>						
Any form of diagram	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maps	0	0	0	2	14	16
Sub Total	0	0	0	2	14	16
<u>Other</u>						
Rural Settings	0	0	1	1	2	4
Artefacts	0	0	1	3	25	29
Food	0	0	0	0	4	4
Any other images	2	0	0	1	50	53
Sub Total	2	0	2	5	81	90
Total	27	8	33	90	585	743

Table A9: Image Analysis Raw Data – Getaway

Getaway	Double Page	Page & a Half	1 Page	≥½ Page	< ½ Page	Total
<u>Animals and Plants</u>						
Big Five	3	3	6	9	60	81
Recognizable African Animals	1	1	3	6	39	50
Plant Life	1	3	3	8	67	82
Marine Life	8	3	8	15	85	119
Birdlife	5	0	4	22	79	110
Other Animals	2	3	5	18	83	111
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and big five animals	4	0	3	6	3	16
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and animals	8	5	3	6	16	38
Sub Total	32	18	35	90	432	607
<u>Animals and People</u>						
Animals and People	0	0	0	1	14	15
Big Five Animals and People	0	0	0	0	2	2
Sub Total	0	0	0	1	16	17
<u>People</u>						
Trad. people in daily routines	0	1	0	2	6	9
Portraits of African people	0	0	2	4	39	45
Travellers on Holiday	7	2	11	4	108	132
People and Extreme Sports	5	3	6	2	61	77
Recognizable Figures	0	1	0	0	8	9
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and people	27	11	10	23	76	147
Conservation People	1	2	2	3	19	27
Other People	1	2	4	2	81	90
Sub Total	41	22	35	40	398	536
<u>Natural Places</u>						
Natural Landscapes/ scenic shots	17	14	17	20	83	151
Sub Total	17	14	17	20	83	151
<u>Urban/City Places</u>						
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots	5	2	0	4	28	39
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots and people	0	1	3	5	7	16
Sub Total	5	3	3	9	35	55
<u>Buildings\ Vehicles</u>						
Tourist buildings and acc.	6	3	4	11	223	247
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and buildings/vehicles	14	5	0	3	35	57
Traditional Buildings	2	0	2	2	16	22
Vehicles	2	4	4	3	76	89
Sub Total	24	12	10	19	350	415
<u>Diagrams</u>						
Any form of diagram	0	0	1	1	8	10
Maps	0	1	4	6	154	165
Sub Total	0	1	5	7	162	175
<u>Other</u>						
Rural Settings	1	0	0	2	11	14
Artefacts	0	0	0	0	35	35
Food	0	0	0	2	19	21
Any other images	3	5	12	18	128	166
Sub Total	4	5	12	22	193	236
Total	123	75	117	208	1669	2192

Table A10: Image Analysis Raw Data – Africa Geographic

Travel Africa	Double Page	Page & a Half	1 Page	≥½ Page	< ½ Page	Total
<u>Animals and Plants</u>						
Big Five	11	1	13	23	51	99
Recognizable African Animals	7	3	6	21	26	63
Plant Life	0	1	3	1	17	22
Marine Life	10	1	5	30	32	78
Birdlife	0	0	2	8	13	23
Other Animals	8	1	21	41	101	172
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and big five animals	2	0	0	3	1	6
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and animals	4	0	1	8	13	26
Sub Total	42	7	51	135	254	489
<u>Animals and People</u>						
Animals and People	1	1	0	9	30	41
Big Five Animals and People	1	0	1	4	22	28
Sub Total	2	1	1	13	52	69
<u>People</u>						
Trad. people in daily routines	1	1	1	10	31	44
Portraits of African people	2	1	3	6	16	28
Travellers on Holiday	0	0	0	3	14	17
People and Extreme Sports	0	0	0	0	0	0
Recognizable Figures	0	0	0	1	5	6
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and people	6	1	0	10	9	26
Conservation People	0	0	0	2	18	20
Other People	0	0	1	3	19	23
Sub Total	9	3	5	35	112	164
<u>Natural Places</u>						
Natural Landscapes/ scenic shots	14	1	4	23	26	68
Sub Total	14	1	4	23	26	68
<u>Urban/City Places</u>						
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots	2	1	2	3	14	22
Urban/City Landscapes and scenic shots and people	0	0	0	0	9	9
Sub Total	2	1	2	3	23	31
<u>Buildings\ Vehicles</u>						
Tourist buildings and acc.	0	0	0	1	5	6
Natural Landscapes and scenic shots and buildings/vehicles	0	2	0	5	8	15
Traditional Buildings	0	2	1	8	15	26
Vehicles	0	0	1	2	4	7
Sub Total	0	4	2	16	32	54
<u>Diagrams</u>						
Any form of diagram	0	0	1	3	17	21
Maps	0	0	3	3	70	76
Sub Total	0	0	4	6	87	97
<u>Other</u>						
Rural Settings	0	0	0	3	8	11
Artefacts	1	1	0	0	6	8
Food	1	0	0	2	3	6
Any other images	0	0	1	3	19	23
Sub Total	2	1	1	8	36	48
Total	71	18	70	239	622	1020

Table A11: Missing Articles

Getaway Missing Articles			
Article Name	Year	Volume	Number
Currents of Contrast: Realm of the Benguela	2006	17	10
The Wild, Wild North	2006	17	11
Currents of Contrast: Realm of the Agulhas	2006	17	11
Gorillas in our Midst	2006	17	12
A Dhow of Our Own	2006	18	1
The Rains Down in Africa	2006	18	2
Aqua Fresh	2006	18	2
Out of the Ruins...	2006	18	2
Cities Beneath the Sea	2006	18	3
The Succulent Route`	2006	18	4
Fintastic	2006	18	4
Holidays and Lazy Days	2006	18	5
1001 Things to do: Easy Hikes	2006	18	6
Away to the Waterberg	2006	18	6
It's not about the Van	2006	18	6
Skeletons and an Eerie Mist	2006	18	6
The Almost Final Reckoning of Snaking Stevens	2006	18	6
Place of Reeds and Reflections	2006	18	7
I Found a Farm in Africa	2006	18	7
1001 Things to do: Routes	2006	18	7
Girls Just Wanna Have 4x4 Fun	2006	18	7
Walking in a Wonderland	2006	18	8
A Lovely Pile of Mud	2006	18	9
Bean There Do This	2006	18	9
Between a Frighteningly high Rock and a Damn Hard Place	2006	18	9
What's Up? Garden Route	2007	18	10
Route Treatment	2007	18	10
48 Hours in Buffalo City	2007	18	10
Something to Sea	2007	18	10
A Taste of Africa	2007	18	10
Berg, Bush and Beach	2007	18	11
A Place for The Birds	2007	18	12
Love-Struck on the Lagoon	2007	19	1
Joining Forces	2007	19	1
The Fynbos, the Fire and the Phoenix	2007	19	1
Smells like...Savage	2007	19	4
Turning Turtle	2007	19	6
Gone Fishing	2007	19	8
Pigging Out the Place of Elephants	2007	19	9
Egoli Playtime	2007	19	9
Next Weekend: Getting Out	2007	19	9

Table A11: Missing Articles

Travel Africa Missing Articles			
Article Name	Year	Season	Edition
A New Vision for Madagascar	2006/7	Winter	37
The Rhythm and Soul of Hello	2007	Summer	39
Are we Messing with the Mara?	2007	Summer	39
Safari Superpower in Waiting?	2007	Autumn	40
Africa Geographic Missing Articles			
Article Name	Year	Volume	Number
A Coldwater Lifeline	2006	14	7
Sunshine, Seafood and Spices	2007	15	2
The Last Outpost	2007	15	9